UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY

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In Memoriam: Sir Robert Alexander Falconer
The Years of His Administration.....H. J. Cody
The Man and His Interests.....Malcolm W. Wallace
Religion and Scholarship.....W. R. Taylor
Chronological Bibliography.....Katherine Wales
Tennyson, Browning, and a Romantic Fallacy.....Lionel Stevenson
Canada's Manpower Policy.....Paul Martin
The Near East Today and Tomorrow.....W. R. Taylor

Reviews
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God and Mammon.....Arthur Barker

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
ON THE FIFTEENTH OF
OCTOBER JANUARY APRIL JULY

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editors, Baldwin House, University of Toronto. All inquiries regarding subscriptions and advertising should be addressed to the Manager, The University of Toronto Press.

$2.00 a Year Three Years $5.00

PROVINCIAL PAPER LIMITED

388-396 University Avenue
TORONTO, CANADA

MANUFACTURERS OF BOOK,
WRITING and COATED PAPER

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

The President of the University, the Honourable H. J. Cody, C.M.G., has kindly responded to the request of the Editors with an article on the administration of his predecessor, Sir Robert Falconer.

Arthur Barker, Professor of English in Trinity College, is the author of *Milton and the Puritan Dilemma*, the first volume in the new series, "Department of English: Studies and Texts."

W. E. Collin, of the University of Western Ontario, has published an authoritative study of Canadian poetry, *The White Savannahs* (1936).

Ralph Gustafson, himself a poet of distinction, is the editor of the widely read Penguin *Anthology of Canadian Poetry* (1942). He is at present with the British Information Services in New York.

R. S. Knox is Professor of English in University College.

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Gilbert Norwood is Head of the Department of Classics in University College, and Director of Classical Studies. His books include *Greek Tragedy*, *Greek Comedy*, *The Art of Terence*, and *Plautus and Terence*.

Lionel Stevenson, of the University of Southern California, is the author of *Darwin among the Poets*, and an admirable study of Lady Morgan, *The Wild Irish Girl*.

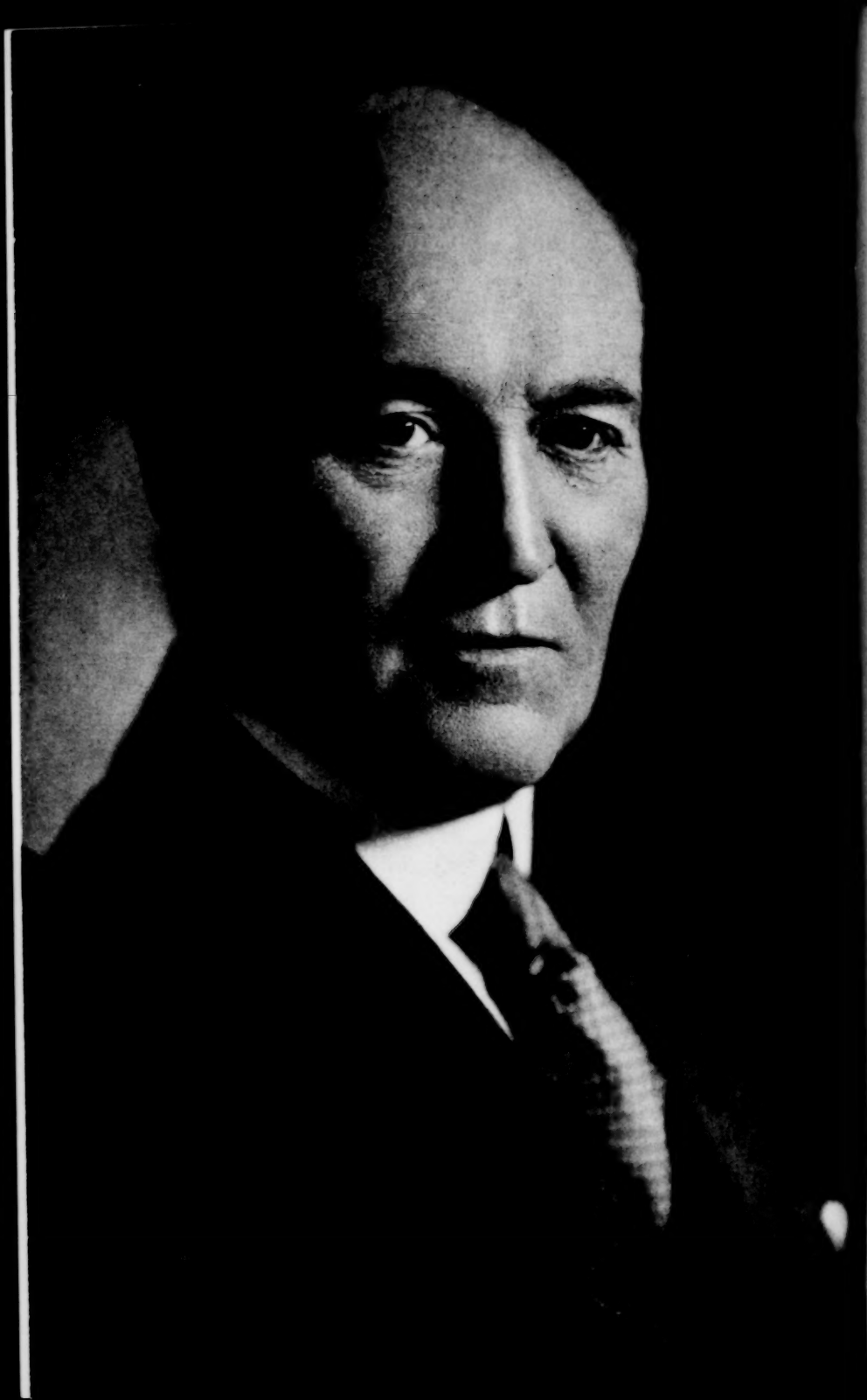
W. R. Taylor, Head of the Department of Oriental Languages in University College, writes on the present situation and the Near East, and also contributes to the memorial articles on Sir Robert Falconer.

Miss Katherine Wales, acting Reference Librarian, prepared the bibliography of Sir Robert Falconer's writings, under the direction of W. S. Wallace, Librarian of the University.

Malcolm W. Wallace, Principal of University College, and Chairman of the Quarterly's Advisory Board, writes on Sir Robert Falconer as he knew him.

Editors' Notes: (1) In the midst of the printing of this issue the Paper Commissioner's ruling was received, which reduces the Quarterly by sixty-four pages in the volume. It is proposed in subsequent issues to recover some part of the lost space by reducing the margins and by printing the reviews and "Letters in Canada" in smaller type. But no such adjustments were possible in this issue.

(2) A limited number of bound reprints of the group of memorial articles on Sir Robert Falconer are available to subscribers, and may be purchased from the University of Toronto Press.



IN MEMORIAM

SIR ROBERT ALEXANDER FALCONER, K.C.M.G.

I. THE YEARS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION

H. J. Cody

EVEN though the Charter of King's College was granted in 1827, and teaching began in 1843, the life of the University of Toronto is comparatively short. As I sit at my desk in the President's office, I lift my eyes to see the portraits of my predecessors. Bishop Strachan was the first President of King's, but his functions were more administrative than academic. Dr McCaul was the first active head of University College. I attended his funeral in my first year at the University and saw him in his coffin. His son-in-law, Maurice Hutton, was my revered classical instructor, whose funeral service I conducted but a short time ago. Sir Daniel Wilson was President during my college days, and Dr James Loudon, his successor, held the chair of Physics. Next to these hangs the photograph of my immediate predecessor, Sir Robert Falconer, whose recent passing we mourn, but for whose short final illness we are thankful. Our Chancellor's memory goes back to the time when the name of the institution was changed from King's College to the University of Toronto. His one life spans its whole story.

One chapter in the history of this University, I am asked to write—some of the outward events of Sir Robert Falconer's presidency. I can scarcely do this from a purely objective point of view, for I have been closely involved in many of them. I was a member of the University Commission of 1905-6, a member of the Senate, Minister of Education in 1918-19, a member of the Board of Governors in 1917 and its Chairman during the last nine years of Sir Robert's incumbency. It is as a friend and a most sympathetic observer that I must set down the events as I see and remember them.

When a great and good man dies, he still speaks to those who remain or who come after. He takes with him into the life invisible his character and his capacity, the only coins that ring true on the counters of both worlds. But he leaves much behind him. He leaves a family to be worthy of his name. He leaves the

influence of his character and his ideals. He leaves the abiding achievements of his life. Sir Robert Falconer has left the spirit of his work and many substantial accomplishments in the development of this University with which his name will be always associated. A university's jewels are the men who make it—its teachers and leaders, and the men whom it makes—its graduates. Sir Robert is one of these who helped to make the University what it is today. His works do follow him.

After university federation, the new organization did not always function smoothly. The lubrication of larger financial support was sorely needed. When Sir James Whitney became Prime Minister of the Province he determined to set up a Commission to give a new constitution to the University as a whole (but the federation agreement was not to be touched) and to deal with the subject of its adequate support. The Commissioners were seven in number: Mr (afterwards Sir) Joseph Flavelle (Chairman); Mr A. H. U. Colquhoun (Secretary); Dr Goldwin Smith, who had had much experience as Secretary of an Oxford University Commission; Sir W. R. Meredith, Chancellor of the University; Sir Edmund Walker, a leading member of its Board of Trustees; and Mr D. Bruce Macdonald (Headmaster of St. Andrew's College) and myself, as representing the younger graduates. The Report of this Commission was accompanied by a draft Bill which was adopted by the Legislature. In many ways this Report was epoch-making in the life of the University of Toronto. A Board of Governors was set up, which was virtually a standing Commission of the Government, free from political pressure; the office of President of the whole University was created, in whom the unity of the somewhat heterogeneous organism was embodied; the various constituent parts were consolidated; and provision was made for expansion. So flexible was this constitution that few changes in it have subsequently been made. The Government made generous financial provision (though the method of giving support was afterwards altered). The successful working out of this constitution would depend on the character, ability and tactfulness of the man chosen to be President. He would be chosen by the newly-appointed Board of Governors. This Board was made up of a group of able, distinguished and public-spirited citizens. The members of the University Commission were naturally appointed with the exception of Dr Colquhoun, who had become Deputy-Minister of Edu-

cation, and myself, who under the Act was disqualified at the moment by reason of teaching in a federated college. There were added the Honourable S. H. Blake, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Mr J. L. Englehart, Father J. R. Teefy, Judge Snider, Mr G. R. R. Cockburn, Mr Chester D. Massey, Sir Thomas White, Mr E. C. Whitney, Sir Charles Moss, Sir Edmund Osler, Dr J. A. Macdonald, Editor of the *Globe*, Mr Justice H. T. Kelly, and Dr John Hoskin as Chairman. Dr D. Bruce Macdonald and Judge Kelly alone remain as members of the Board.

The search for a President at once began. Meanwhile Principal Maurice Hutton was Acting-President for the year. At last the choice was made in 1907; and, although some had asserted that no clergyman would be chosen, the choice fell upon a Presbyterian minister, forty years old, who was Principal of Pine Hill Theological College in Halifax, N.S. Once more a Maritimer from the land of plain living and high thinking, where religion, politics and education are taken seriously, joined the ranks of Canadian university presidents. A son of the Manse, born in Charlottetown, P.E.I., he accompanied his father, a missionary, to Trinidad. He won a Gilchrist scholarship from the West Indies to the University of Edinburgh, in the great days of Butcher, Sellar and Baldwin Brown in Classics, Masson in English, Andrew Seth in Philosophy, Chrystal and P. G. Tait in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. After further courses in the German universities of Leipzig, Berlin (under Harnack) and Marburg, he returned to Halifax to be Professor of New Testament Greek, and later Principal, in Pine Hill—for fifteen years in all.

This was the man who came to Toronto in 1907 to administer the new constitution, under which Toronto fully passed from what on this continent is called the college stage to the university stage. Owing to ill-health which dogged his steps during the last years of his administration he resigned in 1932, after being the guiding-spirit of the University for a quarter of a century. He came with the energy of youth. He had never been associated with any local warring groups. He administered with a spirit of conciliation, tact, goodwill, fairness and yet firmness whenever he felt a principle was at stake. He had the support of an able Board and a Government friendly to the University.

Sir Robert's administration fell into four periods: (1) from 1907 to 1914, when the Provisions of the Act of 1906 were being worked

out; (2) from 1914 to 1918, the period of the First World War; (3) from 1918 to 1927, the period of reconstruction and adjustment, up to the celebration of the centenary of the granting of the Charter; (4) from 1927 to 1932, a period of building expansion, followed by the great depression. The record that follows is not only the story of the growth of the University but also the story of Sir Robert Falconer's work: for of all that was done he was "a great part."

(1) This first period was a time of rapid Canadian expansion through the inrush of immigration into the West. There were exaggerated hopes of incoming millions. Sir Robert gained by degrees a full understanding of the constituent elements of this variegated University and of what he himself described as "the unique complexity due to the federation of Arts Colleges." He once told me that for a few years at the beginning of his presidency he did not know whether he was on his head or his heels; but he soon mastered the factors of the situation—Colleges federated and affiliated, Faculties and departments old and new, and their mutual relations to one another and to the whole University. The supreme task was to realize the ideal of one complete university; and this is still an ever-present problem. In those years the Board naturally through the President had to make the constitution work. Matters of policy and practice had to be decided concerning Colleges, Faculties, Hospitals, and the Museum. Expenditures naturally increased. The Faculty of Medicine had already been revived. The School of Practical Science had, by the Commission's recommendation, become the Faculty of Engineering and Applied Science. Three new Faculties were added: Education (with a building and practice school erected by the Government), Forestry (under Dr B. E. Fernow, formerly of Cornell) and Household Science (through the generosity of Mrs Massey Treble, who gave a classic building and by will a generous endowment). New departments were added in Engineering and Medicine; and Actuarial Science and Commerce and Finance found a place in the curriculum. Sir Joseph Flavelle gave the initial impulse towards realizing the ideal now represented by the Toronto General Hospital and the splendid teaching staff of the Faculty of Medicine. He guided and inspired the successful effort to erect a modern hospital building on a new site contiguous to the University, to be a teaching hospital for the Medical Faculty. Not till after the war was full unified control of teaching in all branches achieved, largely through the princely

benefactions of the Rockefeller Foundation and of Sir John and Lady Eaton. Teaching services were later established by consent in the Sick Children's Hospital, St. Michael's, and Western. The establishment of one great Museum for teaching, research and display had been recommended by the Commission under the vigorous advocacy of Sir Edmund Walker. This unification of scattered collections into the Royal Ontario Museum was due to his effort. When by Act the Government created a Board of Trustees in 1912, Sir Edmund was the first Chairman and Sir Robert Falconer was one of the members. After his resignation as President he was appointed a Government representative, and served the Museum for thirty-one years. Convocation Hall, the Physics Building, both connected with the strenuous efforts of Professor (afterwards Sir John) McLennan, the Household Science Building, the Pathological Building and the Museum were all opened during this period; while the Mining Building and the Thermo-dynamics and Hydraulic Building were now erected. A central heating plant—prosaic but necessary—was built. Naturally a Superintendent of Buildings was appointed to care for this vast new assembly of stone, bricks and mortar—first Mr Graham Campbell, then Colonel LePan. There was an accompanying increase in the number of students. By 1910-11 the attendance had grown to 4,112; ten years earlier the total enrolment was 1,624. The greatest increase was in the Faculty of Arts, notwithstanding the raising of standards and the lengthening of courses. Of the 4,141 in 1912-13, 2,212 came from the Province and 1,286 from the city of Toronto, while 350 came from the Western Provinces and 68 from Quebec and the Maritimes. In 1931-2 the numbers had increased to 3,716 from Ontario and 3,651 from Toronto, 357 from the West and 133 from the Maritimes and Quebec. By the year of Sir Robert's retirement, the total had reached 8,000. The period of his presidency saw the development of McMaster and the University of Western Ontario, and the establishment of provincial universities in Western Canada; but the attendance from Toronto increased, because of the rapid growth of the city, and the setting up of a Post-graduate School, a Faculty of Dentistry and Schools of Social Work and Public Health Nursing continued to draw men and women from Western and Eastern Canada.

(2) The period of the first World War, 1914-18, was marked by reduced staff and empty halls. The situation then was very

different from the present, when academic work continues, in combination with military training. Though many students now volunteer during their courses so as more speedily to share in the activities of the war, the Government so far has thought it best that students enlist when they gain their degree and the training it implies. Graduating classes in certain Faculties enlist almost *en masse;* indeed in Medicine and Dentistry men of the senior years are already enrolled in the army, wear uniform and receive pay. This procedure may be altered by urgent immediate demand for manpower, but under it already about 7,700 graduates and undergraduates of the University have entered the Active Service Forces.

In the war of 1914-18 a contingent of the Officers' Training Corps was formed, of which Sir Robert was Honorary Colonel. The University through the generosity of outside friends offered a Base Hospital to the Government. The Hospital was one of the best equipped units that crossed the sea. Its first station was at Salonika; its last, at Basingstoke in England. Over 5,300 men of the University were on active service and over 600 were killed. To commemorate their sacrifice, the Alumni and other friends of the University erected in 1924 the beautiful Memorial Tower that stands between the University College and Hart House. Here are inscribed the names of those who gave their lives; and here are cut in the stone Colonel John McCrae's verses "Flanders Fields" and Pericles' immortal words: "Take these men for your examples, and like them remember that prosperity is only for the free, and that freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it." Out of the funds that remained after the cost of the Tower was defrayed, a scholarship and loan fund was established for returned men, and now for students who need a helping hand.

(3) From 1919 to 1927 was a period of adjustment and rehabilitation, as returning soldiers came to the University in great numbers. Sir Robert had visited our Canadian troops in England and in France during the war and was in measure prepared for this peaceful invasion. Members of the teaching staff strained every nerve to meet the need for special instruction, and extra classes were held in almost every building and in all Faculties. In 1917-18 the registration was 2,799; in 1919-20 it had leaped to 5,237 and made the need for further accommodation a practical necessity.

The greatest single gift to the University at this time was Hart

House—given by the Massey Foundation, through the generosity and far vision of Mr Chester D. Massey and his son, Vincent, now the High Commissioner for Canada in London. The story of its origin has been told elsewhere; I need not repeat it. Sufficient to say that this building, superbly beautiful under the fine artistic direction of Dr Henry R. Sproatt, and then unique among the world's academic structures, was designed to be a home for all the non-academic activities of the men students—social, artistic, religious, and athletic. It was built to fulfil "the task of arming youth with strength and suppleness of limb, with clarity of mind and depth of understanding, and with a spirit of true religion and high endeavour"; and nobly has it fulfilled the Founders' Prayer. In 1919 Hart House was completed, and formally opened by the Governor-General of that day, the Duke of Devonshire. Sir Robert always gloried in the fact that, though the University of Toronto was a state institution and largely supported by provincial grants, this had not dried up the stream of private benefactions. I can mention but a few of these; some of them were on a grand scale: Hart House (whose total cost was not revealed, but which if built in these days would call for between four and five million dollars), the Household Science Building, two of the University residences (including Whitney Hall, the beautiful Georgian Women's Residence of University College, built from the bequest of Mr E. C. Whitney, brother of Sir James), Convocation Hall, the University Library, the Connaught Laboratories (the gift of Colonel Sir Albert Gooderham). These in whole or in part came from private donors. Scholarships and research funds have steadily been contributed; and still the stream (so vital to the University's progress) flows in, as is witnessed by the recent Wallberg Bequest for the advancement of the Faculty of Engineering. We may fairly infer that the University of Toronto is increasingly commending its work to the people of this province.

The list of buildings erected and acquired between 1919 and 1927 gives some idea of the University's growth: the Gull Lake Survey Camp and buildings; a number of private houses, mainly on St. George Street, to house students or departments like History, Psychology, Law; the University Press; the Electrical Building and the Anatomy Building (the gift of the Province); the University College Women's Union (the gift of the Province); Simcoe Hall, the central University Administration Building, (the gift of the

province, on the recommendation of the Commission on University Finances); the Forestry Building (to be paid by amortization in twenty years); the Hygiene Building (the gift of the Rockefeller Foundation, and formally opened by Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Adviser to the Department of Public Health of Great Britain).

The Faculties of Music, in 1918, and of Dentistry, in 1925, were added to the number then existing; and in 1922 a fully organized School of Graduate Studies was established. In this last Sir Robert was deeply interested. He wished to develop in Toronto a Canadian School of Post-graduate Studies, to which both our own graduates and those from Western Canada could come for further study and for research; he hoped that, as a result, they would be more likely to remain in Canada. Toronto is one of those Canadian universities whose staff and equipment mark it out as a fitting place for a Graduate School. Some conflicting views on both the aims and the methods of such a school had for a time delayed its establishment; but Sir Robert skilfully piloted the measure to its happy haven. I feel some personal pride and interest in this academic advance, because as Minister of Education in 1919 I for the first time inserted in the Budget of the University of Toronto the sum of $60,000 specifically for the furtherance of research. The great protagonist of research in those days was the late Professor J. C. Fields, F.R.S.

Athletics were not overlooked. The students, through their Athletic Association, built the concrete bleachers and the Arena. They borrowed the money from the Governors at interest, and this year, 1943, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Association, paid off the last cent of indebtedness. Sir Robert Falconer attended this meeting only a few weeks ago, and paid tribute to the fine spirit of clean athleticism that had always marked the University.

New Schools were established in Social Work and in Public Health Nursing, to meet the growing demands of the Province. The first had been started by a private individual (Mrs H. D. Warren) and the second by the Red Cross; but each justified its existence and was taken over by the University.

Two special events took place in this period. The first was the visit to Toronto of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; the University was host, and Sir Robert the considerate

and ubiquitous representative of the University. The second was the celebration on October 6-9, 1927, of the centenary of the granting of the Charter of King's College, our immediate ancestress. Delegates offered felicitations from universities in all parts of the world. Once more Sir Robert was our dignified and kindly representative.

But more important than even these notable events was the quiet investigation, in a laboratory of the Physiological Building, which issued in the discovery of insulin. The initial and originative idea was supplied by Dr Frederick Grant Banting; this he worked out in collaboration with some younger scientific students, of whom the chief was Dr Charles H. Best, happily still with us. The Nobel prize was awarded to Banting, who shared it with Best; and to Macleod, the Professor of Physiology, who shared it with J. B. Collip (now a professor in McGill). Humanity pays grateful tribute today to Sir Frederick Banting, whose untimely death in an air crash as he was flying to England was mourned by countless thousands whose sufferings were assuaged by insulin. This work and Banting's flair for research gave immense stimulus to investigations in almost every branch of science.

(4) The last period of Sir Robert's administration covered the years from 1927 to his resignation in 1932.

In this period the Banting Institute was erected to house Pathology, Pathological Chemistry and Medical Research; the old McMaster University Building was acquired and, on reconditioning, became the Economics Building, giving a home to Political Economy and Political Science and Social Science; Whitney Hall was opened; the Mill Building was added (through a grant from the Honourable Charles McCrea, the Minister of Mines) to the Department of Mining Engineering; additions were made to the Hygiene Building; and the handsome stone Botany Building (the gift of the Province) was formally opened by Sir Albert Seward, the Professor of Botany in Cambridge University. The additions to the Royal Ontario Museum (paid for by the provincial Government under the guidance of the Honourable G. Howard Ferguson and his successor the Honourable George S. Henry) were begun in Sir Robert's time and completed after his resignation. The same is true of the great memorial Observatory that bears the name of David Dunlap. In both undertakings Sir Robert took his part.

During this period the Department of University Extension,

under the wise and progressive direction of Dr W. J. Dunlop, became a great popular educational institute, a veritable College by itself. Through it the educational resources of the University are placed at the service of the people.

In 1925 Sir Robert delivered the Sir George Watson lectures in various British universities on the general subject of "The United States as a Neighbour." In 1929 he was offered the Principalship of his *alma mater*, the University of Edinburgh; but after careful consideration, in spite of all its attractions, he declined it. It was by good Providence he did so, for not long after this his health became impaired; and indeed his heart was here in Canada and in Toronto.

May I add a few words on the academic side of his administrative work?

Sir Robert believed that a President's chief responsibility was the recommendation of able men to all academic positions.

He recognized the dangers of inbreeding, and sought to secure a staff well balanced between those from Canada and those from abroad. Such a staff gave interest, variety and enrichment to the University. The infusion of intellectual power and experience from various sources introduces new ideas, new methods, and saves from the stagnation which comes from uniformity of training and environment. He kept on the watch for rising young men, who might be some day of professorial rank. He believed that teaching and the spirit of research usually went together.

He sought to keep high the standard of scholarship and of teaching. Honour matriculation became the condition of entrance to all Faculties in the University: a lead not generally followed in other institutions. One must recognize, however, as attendant on this advance, and must guard against, some danger of undue specialization in undergraduate courses.

Sir Robert stood for the freedom of the University, but he equally urged the exercise of that freedom with good sense, good taste, and due regard to one's responsibility as a member of a society or community. He had great gifts of public speech, and in the University his words carried conviction as the expression of sound scholarship, of judicial temper, and of respect for himself and for others. His staff trusted him for his fairness, his courage, his convictions, and his thorough knowledge of his great task.

He loved and enjoyed his work, and felt that in this great University "the lines had fallen to him in pleasant places and that he

had a goodly heritage." He constantly reminded the young men and women under his care that their natural gifts and opportunities should be held in trust from God for the service of mankind. His own life was based upon his Christian faith.

II. THE MAN AND HIS INTERESTS — MALCOLM W. WALLACE

Sir Robert Falconer, during the whole of his life from boyhood onward, lived within the walls of colleges and universities. It is difficult indeed to imagine what kind of life he might have lived had fortune denied him the boon of an academic training. Whatever his calling, it is safe to assume that he would have managed to interpret its duties in terms closely related to those of the college professor. He had a passion to know and to be—to understand more clearly the enigma of life, and to make his own life conform more closely to the ideals dictated by his conscience and an instructed reason. Any other kind of human interest seemed to him subordinate and incidental.

Born in a Presbyterian manse in Prince Edward Island, he was a perfect illustration of the saying that the boy is father of the man. In other words, conduct and scholarship were the pre-occupations of his parents, and in his earliest days they placed on him their indelible stamp. This determining power of early environment as illustrated in his own case never failed to impress his judgment when he meditated on it, and gradually it became one of his most deep-rooted convictions. In childhood are laid down the strong foundations of character. In this way the traditional wisdom of the race is perpetuated; it will be modified fundamentally by later experience, but it will prevent the individual from being a mere storm-centre of conflicting ideas and emotions. "If we have had the good fortune," wrote Sir Robert in his mature years, "to be brought up in a home where there was a strong belief in the distinction between right and wrong, and if we inherit the tradition of a moral end in life as imperative, the slow changes that must come through a powerful and attractive new environment will not wreck our self-respect. That past itself will be an ideal which will be purified by the new experience. We despise those who forget their past, because they show thereby that the present is little more to them than a mass of unstable conventions."

No one unacquainted with the Scotch Presbyterian way of life —in Scotland or in Canada—could easily understand Sir Robert; for he typified that life to a remarkable degree. Its outlook in religion was puritanic, austere, with a strong tendency to place the emphasis on self-control and repression. Indulgence of any kind was looked upon with suspicion, as was also any unusual preoccupation with matters of mere beauty. It believed in plain living, partly because there was no alternative, partly because it distrusted ease and power as inimical to the highest spiritual ideals. Next to religion its devotion was given to scholarship: very often scholarship was the consuming passion. Indeed it may be seriously questioned whether among any other people there has ever been a more wide-spread or intense love of learning.

During his boyhood Sir Robert spent eight years in Trinidad, where his father had a charge, and where the boy was fortunate enough to secure a good secondary education at Queen's Royal College School. A Gilchrist Scholarship enabled him to proceed to the University of Edinburgh, where he prepared himself for the B.A. examination in the University of London. The total number of Canadian students who secured Gilchrist awards was small, but a surprising proportion of them achieved some real degree of eminence in later life, including Professor W. J. Alexander of University College, Toronto, President Jacob Schurman of Cornell, and President Walter Murray of Saskatchewan.

Edinburgh was the gateway through which young Falconer entered the great world of scholarship and politics. The first experience of staring at the Pacific is almost sure to work disturbance in the soul of an intelligent boy, and very often to detach him from his moorings at least temporarily. But in Sir Robert's case it was not so. "In Edinburgh," he writes, "I found an environment in which I was not conscious of any serious breach with my past. What its pundits of orthodoxy decreed, I had neither the desire nor the ability to challenge." His calm acceptance of the new world into which he was ushered was due in part to the fact that he had long known it imaginatively (it was his father's university) and in part to the fact that Edinburgh was not then a provocative centre of new ideas. Still, it is strange that he could accept the new life so calmly. Looking back on these days after the lapse of half a century he declared: "My special studies lay in the field of the classics, then an ample demesne for conservatism

and tradition, which suited my unoriginal and incurious mind. Though we read Plato and Aristotle they did not stir me to philosophize over-much . . . . The philosophy which I was taught in the class-room served rather to confirm my inherited beliefs than to disturb my religious convictions . . . . I did not yet realize that a new spirit of science was seriously disturbing long-established doctrine." We may probably safely assume that his character matured slowly, that in his own words he "had not a rebellious mind."

And yet the four years which he spent in the Classical Honours Course in Edinburgh were among the most significant in his life. Social life and athletics were almost unknown among the students, and the best of them measured themselves against the exacting intellectual standards with a sheer delight in learning. Sir Robert read the *Ethics* and *Politics* with Butcher, Tacitus, Virgil and Horace with Sellar, Shakespeare and the history of English literature with Masson, and philosophy with Andrew Seth. Blackie had retired but was a frequent visitor in the University. To associate freely with great men whose names had long been familiar to him must have been a highly stimulating experience for the colonial youth, even if their influence was more obvious in the inculcating of high scholarly ideals than in radical modification of his convictions. "It was more by my fellow-students," he says, "than in the classroom that I was made to think for myself . . . . Acute companions challenged the value of my beliefs and practices. As a rule I defended my puritan heritage which was strong within me; but after discussion I was not the same as before, as over and over I had to ask myself, What is the essential value of this faith of mine and of my way of life?" The total result of his university studies was to clarify and deepen his convictions and morals. "The more intellectually secure I became," he writes, "the more consistent was my inner life. One who cannot find some basis in reason for his religious intuitions will be a double-minded man unstable in his ways."

From his own self-analysis we get a picture of Sir Robert as a serious youth, essentially conservative in temperament, and sure of himself, whose inherited beliefs were modified gradually in the light of new knowledge. He had little impulse to cut himself off from his past as a result of some deep disturbance of his soul or the working of strong compunction. And yet it is possible that he

overstates the case. When he entered the Divinity College he found that his sympathies were with "a strong body of independently-minded students who revolted against the traditionalism of some of the professors." To Marcus Dods he felt that he owed a debt of gratitude for having put him on the right track. When, on concluding his divinity course in Edinburgh, he went to study at Marburg and Berlin and Leipzig, and encountered the full blast of historical scholarship and the scientific criticism of biblical problems, under such a master as Harnack, he was once more able to incorporate the new teachings into the fundamentals of his creed. He found them "healthful tonics" which contributed to a "more genuine understanding of the intellectual element in the Christian faith." He was to come to regard as non-historical many of the miraculous incidents of the Gospels, and in other respects to reject the dogma of his earlier days, but to the end he held to the fundamentals of his boyhood creed with an almost child-like simplicity and assurance. Like the Happy Warrior he was

> the generous Spirit, who, when brought
> Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
> Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought:
> Whose high endeavours are an inward light
> That makes the path before him always bright:
> Who, with a natural instinct to discern
> What knowledge can perform, is diligent to learn;
> Abides by this resolve, and stops not there,
> But makes his moral being his prime care.

In 1892 at the age of twenty-five Sir Robert returned to his native land as Lecturer (and then Professor) in New Testament Greek in Pine Hill College, Halifax. He was to remain there for fifteen years, during the last three of which he was Principal of the College. His work in this field is dealt with by Professor Taylor, and I shall pass on to his appointment as President of the University of Toronto.

When it was announced that the Governors of the University, after a prolonged search for a new President, had selected Principal Falconer of Pine Hill College, the news was received with something like amazement by many of his colleagues-to-be. Very few of them knew his name; many of them had serious doubts as to the wisdom of appointing a clergyman. It was re-assuring to learn that he had taken a good classical degree at Edinburgh, that he was young, a Canadian who had pursued his graduate studies in

German universities, and had had some experience of administrative work. It was reported further that his scholarly interests extended far beyond the bounds of his special department, that he had natural qualities of leadership, that he had shown good judgment in his choice of men, and that in his public appearances he had displayed a native dignity, good sense and a very unusual capacity to express his thoughts not only in adequate but distinguished English. These were considerations that helped to allay fears; besides, for better or worse, he was now the President, and he could therefore count on the loyalty and co-operation of the members of his staff.

Probably no one was more amazed at the appointment than was the President himself. He was travelling in Southern Europe when the offer of the post came to him. He knew very little about the Toronto situation; and it is perhaps just as well that he knew no more, or he might have hesitated to assume the burden. The successful president of a great university is almost of necessity a lonely figure. He should be possessed of all the virtues—scholarship, character, good judgment, diplomatic skill, an instinct for justice, a capacity for dignified and effective conduct of public occasions, and many others. A marked deficiency in one field is hardly atoned for by brilliant capacity in many. He must live in the midst of unsparing criticism, and his greatest achievements must be shared with his colleagues, among whom he is fortunate if he can establish his right to be considered *primus inter pares*. All these things President Falconer knew very well and it would be strange if the prospect had not given him pause. On the other hand, he had known the academic world throughout his mature life, and in playing his part in it he would have the use of his right hand. He knew that his training had been adequate, and he had clear-cut convictions as to those things which constitute the health of a university. He shared unreservedly its devotion to the search for truth, and he warmly approved of its somewhat ruthless methods of arriving at the truth by means of hard work and free and frank debate.

For a full quarter of a century President Falconer was to undergo the gruelling experiences of the presidency, to uphold the best university standards, to hold the balance between the sciences and the humanities, to accept responsibility for the selection of new men, and to preserve the combination of intellectual and

imaginative qualities which are necessary for the determining of the institution's development as a great centre of educational progress. His administrative work is dealt with by President Cody, and I shall touch on only a few points that illustrate his general character.

He entered on the presidency at the beginning of a period of great material and intellectual development. For many years he must have felt that his energies were absorbed in the business of providing new buildings, establishing new departments, and selecting new members of the staff. Soon, however, he became aware that he was winning the warm approval and admiration of his staff, even when they differed from him in detail as to policy. His directness and simplicity, his kindliness and friendliness, his willingness to carry the heavy burdens of his office without complaint, all disarmed criticism. In a word, he began early to enjoy the only honours for which he cared—the warm approval of those best qualified to sit in judgment on his work.

The outbreak of war in 1914 transformed the programme of the University, as of all other national institutions. Buildings were left unfinished; students and staff, after brief preliminary training, departed for the battlefields of Europe. Within a few months their names began to appear in the casualty lists in ever-increasing numbers. No one suffered more in spirit than the President. The path of duty lay as clearly before him as ever, but he realized more clearly than most men how great had been the failure of our democratic and Christian professions. His interpretation, conveyed to the student-body in many addresses, lacked nothing of the definite and concrete. "I took an active part in inducing students to enlist," he wrote long afterward, "and justified myself by my profound conviction that some things are worse than death, and that a man's nobility is shown by his being willing to die for what he believes to be a cause essential for the welfare of his fellows. The issue was between the endeavour to maintain freedom and a reign of military force. Human freedom—spiritual, moral, political—is of such supreme value that as I regarded the choice, it was incumbent on all who held freedom as a sacred possession, to be willing to die for it." "But war is hideous," he continues; "it exists because brutal instincts have not yet been eradicated from a multitude still in the savage stage, and whose civilization is a thin veneer . . . . The sight of old European peoples, who have

inherited rich cultures and who pride themselves on their intellectual attainment, yielding to the impulses of a barbaric mind has been one of the most disquieting experiences of my later life." After the war was over he was deeply troubled by the general setback to religion, and the fact that "there is perhaps less freedom in the civilized world than before." He faced the facts of the situation honestly, and could only re-iterate his own conviction that "the most hopeful source for moral renewal in the world . . . is the Christian faith through a purified and extended Church."

While we were fighting for freedom against the enemy in Europe, Sir Robert had no intention of giving up the cause at home. On the outbreak of war there was a popular demand, reinforced by certain members of the Board of Governors, that the German professors on the staff be dismissed. Sir Robert set himself like flint to oppose the demand, and he was successful in spite of one or two resignations from the Board. To him the whole question of academic freedom was involved, and there was no university tradition which he defended more consistently throughout his whole tenure of the presidency. In a public address in Convocation Hall, in 1922, he declared: "A university in which professors are overawed by political, social or sectarian influence cannot aspire to an honourable position in the Commonwealth of Learning. Just as we measure the progress of democratic government by its freedom from the spoils system, so that faithful servants are not dispossessed whenever a new party comes into power, so we can measure the rank and stability of a university by the security given to a professor to pursue and expound his investigations without being compelled to justify himself to those who differ from him." This is the great governing principle, and although Sir Robert was aware that there may arise circumstances in which it may need modification, his faith was in the principle and its widest possible application. He was too good a Christian and democrat to pay mere lip-service to the supreme value of human freedom.

In spite of the exacting duties of his office Sir Robert found time every year to publish one or more carefully studied essays or courses of lectures, and after his retirement in 1932 the volume of his published work increased rather than fell off. In 1925 he gave eight lectures in Great Britain on the Sir George Watson Foundation, on "The United States as a Neighbour"; in 1928 at Mount Allison University he lectured on the Josiah Wood Foundation, and in

1933 and 1938 at the Rice Institute, Texas. He contributed a chapter on "The Pioneering Spirit" to the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, and an article on "Humanism" to the *Hibbert Journal*. The majority of his writings appeared in the volumes of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, the *University Magazine*, the *University of Toronto Quarterly* and the *Queen's Quarterly*. They dealt with a great number of different subjects, all related, however, to his dominant interest in literature, religion, philosophy and university ideals. His deep interest in Canadian-American relations led him to lecture frequently in American universities. His tireless energy enabled him not only to take a prominent part in the councils of his church, but to devote much time to the League of Nations Society, the Red Cross, the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs (Couchiching), the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Royal Society of Canada, the English Speaking Union, and other organizations.

Sir Robert's conception of a university might have been derived in large measure from Matthew Arnold's conception of the function of criticism. The business of criticism is "to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas." "Knowledge, and ever fresh knowledge, must be the critic's great concern for himself." "Criticism must regard Europe as being for intellectual and spiritual purposes one great confederation bound to a joint action and working to a common result; and whose members have for their proper outfit a knowledge of Greek, Roman and Eastern Antiquity, and of one another." In pursuance of this ideal he published studies of the influence which had been exerted on Canadian university development by England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States. Constantly he examined the relationship that should exist between the study of the humanities and of science. For our own university he feared nothing more than a parochial outlook, or the degeneration of the university ideal into that of a continuing high school. Research and graduate study seemed to him of first importance, though he always insisted that the humanities must retain the central position in a university worthy of the name. The professor "who has ceased to penetrate into new regions loses the power of holding the respect of even the average student." In the fundamental work of the university he deprecated any

tendency to divorce the intellectual and the moral. "The universities of the world are silently humanizing the minds of men."

In attempting to estimate the enduring value of Sir Robert's service to the University of Toronto one is inclined to think first of his steady devotion to ideals of scholarship and to his cosmopolitan outlook. One remembers his work in securing a higher standard of admission, his insistence on measuring our achievement by world standards, and his enthusiasm for providing that a steady stream of scholars should visit us from great European and American universities. But it is probably more true to say that his greatest contribution is to be sought in his personal character rather than in specific acts. We remember his assumption that the business of the university was to serve the intellectual and moral interests of the community by consistent hard work. His integrity was so complete that the whole university body learned to assume that it was a quality antecedent to all genuine university work. We remember his dignity, his good taste, and his capacity to use the English language with efficiency and distinction, especially on public occasions. His instinctive love of justice and honesty, his democratic faith in the rational element in human character, his friendliness and kindliness, all these qualities made for unity in our efforts, and tended to reduce acerbity to a minor place. His record would seem to furnish one more example of the truth that character outweighs intellectual power in achieving enduring results.

His outlook on life was extraordinarily simple. His religious faith was that of a great scholar but also that of a little child. He was not unduly oppressed by the burden of the mystery. He lived during a period when his religious and educational creed was challenged by assaults unique in their power and ferocity. He suffered keenly when those things which he considered to be evil absolutely seemed to be gaining the victory. Nevertheless, he was accompanied throughout all his strivings and perplexities by greater serenity of soul than is known to most men. Under him men of diverse interests found it comparatively easy to unite. No one ever questioned his good faith, and from his simplicity and sincerity sprang his power of discernment.

It should be recognized that there were those who did not give him unqualified admiration. The worldling is not impressed by unworldliness, and Sir Robert had the limitations of his qualities.

He had no art of indiscriminate joviality or back-slapping. He found it difficult to lay aside an innate dignity and gravity in spite of his kindly friendliness. He disliked intensely the atmosphere of conflict, and regarded it as a confession of failure to make sweetness and light prevail. He was at a disadvantage with thrusting, insensitive, aggressive men: the scheming and the superficial were puzzled by his puritanic simplicity. Nevertheless, in their dealings with the President their interests did not suffer because of his imperfect sympathy. Sir Robert's warmest admirers were sometimes driven to declare that his greatest generosity was reserved for those with whose outlook on life he had least sympathy.

He was a born leader. Men trusted him, and he carried responsibility easily. His simplicity of character inspired confidence, and the definiteness of his ideals and beliefs gave an assurance of consistency and permanence. There was little of the partisan in his instincts. In all things his creed was oddly inclusive and eclectic. He accepted without question the fundamentals of religious orthodoxy, but he was enthusiastic about the "higher criticism," and esteemed highly the contribution which it had made to religious thought. He was an enthusiast for the Imperial connection, but no less so for Canadian nationalism, and for the most intimate co-operation between Canada and the United States. It has been said that most men can see only one aspect of truth at a time. Sir Robert gave sympathetic, intelligent consideration to all the opposing views which were seeking to establish themselves, and usually found much of good in several of them. Nothing distressed him more than the bitterness of political warfare. Nevertheless, his faith never wavered in the essential soundness of democratic procedure and a spirit of compromise in arriving at a determination of national policies.

Most men achieve their maximum intellectual development at a comparatively early age, after which an element of repetition and reiteration enters into all their later labours. But there are those who never cease to grow, whose performances illustrate the continuous enrichment and increasing grasp to which they attain with the passing of the years, and of these Sir Robert was one. His last published article, on "The Humanities in the War-Time University," appeared in the October number of this magazine, and its grasp of fundamental truth is very impressive. He realized the magnitude and significance of the catastrophe in which we are involved as they

are realized by only a saving remnant among men. "Hideous though war is," he writes, "because of the agony it brings both in body and mind, and the ruin of noble material structures, its most enduring evil is the attendant moral deterioration, as human nature, losing restraint, shows at its worst: fierce, vindictive, false, with consequent disaster to civilized life. Western civilization is a delicate and variegated web that has been woven with infinite care for millenia, and the hurricane of war wreaks havoc among its finer filaments. Should the struggle last for years the damage would be irreparable. The weaving cannot continue if multitudes of the most skilful are killed, while abiding hatreds paralyse the weavers who are left. False propaganda will have bred such passions among them that for many years, in a tormented world, they will be unable to work together and resume patterns of universal human value." He is troubled by our contemporary practice, summarized by President-Emeritus Neilson in the words, "Education in the liberal arts is out for the duration." "Yet," continues Sir Robert, "it is in the humanities that the spirit of the university has its inmost home. . . . Their universals lie in the constitution of human nature, the functions of man as such, good and aesthetic as well as true, the demand for justice and the right of freedom to work out one's aspirations and ideals; and so they make possible civilized human intercourse and culture." The older man's hopes for mankind are based on the same foundations which he laid in his earlier days, but he feels more intensely and he pleads his case more convincingly. In a broadcast delivered a few days before his death he urged with all the emphasis at his command that Canada adopt a generous attitude toward the question of admitting refugees who are fleeing before the European terror. For him the argument of the Good Samaritan carried more weight than many prudential considerations.

It was not only to the University but to the nation at large that the death of Sir Robert brought a great sense of loss and sorrow. But the grief of all those who knew him is qualified by a great sense of pride. He died in the fulness of years after a life of high achievement. He was a good and wise and able man, who devoted his great powers without stint for the well-being of his fellows, and his works will follow him.

III. RELIGION AND SCHOLARSHIP

W. R. TAYLOR

ἔχειν το μυστήριον τῆς πιστέως ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει

Josiah Boyce once remarked that we in this generation prefer the greatness of "him that taketh a city" rather than of "him that ruleth his own spirit." But there are times when we disengage ourselves from our pragmatic attitude to men and things and direct our thoughts to the manner of life of those who by the sheer power of personal worth keep strong our faith in moral and spiritual values. In this respect the life of Sir Robert Falconer has peculiar significance both for those of us in the University who served under or with him and also for the large number of persons and institutions touched by him in his varied relations—national, international and ecclesiastical. The study of his contributions to our religious thought and life is only one aspect of a life that was singularly woven in one piece. The legacy of what he has written in the field of New Testament and related studies brings to view the mainspring of the creative forces in his character and those principles which governed him in the execution of his academic and public duties and determined his choice of the interests and the movements with which he associated himself. His religious faith was fundamental and altogether regulative. And for this reason he impressed all who knew him with a sense of his moral straightness in the grain. It is also to be remembered that the span of his life coincided fairly closely with an epoch which in the history of our culture has been the most revolutionary since the Renaissance. This epoch had just begun at the time of his birth, and when he passed away he left us with our feet at the edge of a new one. In the midst of the din and confusion as the old order of the nineteenth century was giving place to a newer one, he made a spiritual and intellectual pilgrimage with his characteristic blend of open-mindedness and caution. By the time that he had reached his middle thirties, his contributions entitled him to be set historically along with that brilliant group of older scholars, Grant and Jordan of Queen's, McCurdy and MacFadyen of Toronto, as a pioneer in the task of bringing biblical and theological teaching in Canada out of the back-bays into the full tide of contemporary thought. In contrast with these other men who were principally concerned with the sciences related to the field of Old Testament studies, his peculiar distinction was that of being the first of ranking New Testament experts in the history of this country.

In the Rockwell Lectures, delivered at the Rice Institute, in 1938, Sir Robert has given us an intimate account of his progress in things religious, from his early youth to the years following the First Great War. The title of this autobiography, *Religion on My Life's Road*, is fittingly chosen because, owing to his intellectual sensitiveness to the radical and sometimes violent changes that affected the world into which he was born, he had once and again in the course of the years to resolve the seeming conflicts between faith and events. It is true, however, that the heart makes the theologian. And the heart is, more often than not, a heritage from a man's forefathers. *Notre personnalité sociale est une création de la pensée des autres.* Sir Robert began life with the spiritual assets of a religious home founded on Scottish Presbyterian traditions. He was cradled and nurtured in the faith. And, being so favoured, he was spared the struggle that some must wage to acquire even the incipient will to believe.

> I may take to myself at least these words of the apostle Paul: "I served God from my forefathers in a pure conscience" . . . , being "instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers." As far as I can remember my boyhood thoughts, I was not disturbed by doubts as to the truth of what was taught me; I had not a rebellious mind.
>
> Our outlook on life was strongly puritan. Works were the obverse of faith.
>
> We went regularly to church, and for years I listened to the sermons of my father, who happily for me was an unusually good preacher, well educated and thoughtful, clear and direct in speech, logical but by nature tolerant. He rarely exhibited emotion, was reserved as to his inner life, and was suspicious of overwrought sentiment.
>
> It was assumed that by the gradual impartation of doctrinal truth we would be educated into religion. Consequently, I do not remember periods of religious exaltation, nor any such momentous experience as some have gone through in definite conversion.

These jottings from the recollections of his youth indicate the extent to which the truths of religion became early entwined with his nature. In the course of the years, though the process of rationalizing his faith is never halted, the foundations remain fixed and unshaken; "who once believed, will never wholly doubt." It is perhaps more than a coincidence that another son of the Manse, reared in a similar atmosphere, Lord Tweedsmuir, reflecting on the effects of mature experience on his earliest religious convictions, remarks that the Calvinism of his boyhood was broadened, mellowed, but also confirmed.

Later adolescence is the time when the religion of one's youth is submitted to its first serious testing, and what has been acquired by assent must be rewon by an effort of the mind and will. At eighteen the matriculant, Robert A. Falconer, entered the University of Edinburgh. The undergraduate curriculum there in the late eighties was in consonance with its Scottish environment, conservative and substantial. Some of the subjects, notably the classics and mathematics, were professed by teachers of eminent scholarship, but others, it seems, were either badly taught or out of relation with the times. Altogether, Edinburgh at that time was "not a provocative centre of new ideas." In philosophy there was no one comparable with Edward Caird of Glasgow, the brilliant exponent of Hegelianism, or Alexander Bain of Aberdeen, the disciple of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Since zoology and botany were not included among the sciences offered to the students, the problems raised by the biological theories of evolution were not acutely realized. And the impact of the new spirit of science on long-established doctrinal traditions was only faintly discerned. The strongest challenges to faith were met outside the class-rooms. The students, as not infrequently in the history of universities, were more alive than the teaching body to the power of the new ideas that were upsetting the world outside. New books fed the appetite for fuller knowledge and added to the agitation. No tenet or practice was too sacred to be brought under scrutiny for revaluation or abrogation. This ceaseless sifting tended to clarify the grounds of religion and morals. In the circumstances there was no escape from the necessity of seeking some basis in reason for one's religious intuitions and affirmations. This process of rationalizing his faith, now begun through the influence of informal discussions and arguments, was to be determinative of the direction in which the student's mind would move at a later period.

But although the undergraduate courses lacked those qualities that "stab the spirit broad awake," they were in other respects not without important educative values. In his autobiography Sir Robert passes over these gains from his humane studies in Edinburgh rather lightly, because they were not directly related to his religious *palingenesis*. But under Butcher and Sellar, in whose subjects he was specializing, he received an introduction into the life and literature of the Graeco-Roman world, which formed a rich background to his subsequent New Testament studies. And

through the influence of their critical sense, imaginative insight, and precision in the interpretation of Greek and Latin texts, he learned those elements of literary and textual criticism which he applied with brilliance in the interests of his special field. Under other teachers he learned the history and the function of philosophy, and because of his temperament and interests, and the tendencies of his environment, he held to the idealistic school. But if men are by nature either Aristotelians or Platonists, Sir Robert's category was the latter. And as a Platonist he lived more in the Platonic atmosphere than by the Platonic system. The fact is that though he was well acquainted with the substance of philosophic thought, as we see, for example, in his masterly analysis of A. C. Bradley's Gifford Lectures, he followed philosophy with no marked "warmth of desire." He admits that "it is necessary for a complete religion but is only the temple within which there must be an altar at which to worship." There is a hint that he shared the Newtonian opinion that "philosophy is an impertinently litigious lady." At any rate, he missed in it the full compass of Reality.

The recognition of his freedom from entangling philosophic alliances is fundamental to an understanding of his habit of mind and of his theological position. In the Ingersoll Lecture (1930), *Immortality and Western Civilization*, a subject which invites a philosophic approach, he keeps aloof from the syllogisms of the Idealists and bases the argument directly on the fact of "the presence in human life of qualities of permanent intrinsic worth." Such an attitude is not peculiar to theologians. "Philosophy," says Lord Tweedsmuir, "was to me always an intellectual exercise, like mathematics, not the quest for a faith." We may assume that a detachment from philosophic constructions was developing in Sir Robert's university period. It becomes more marked, as we shall see, in the construction of a pattern of thought in the post-graduate years.

In the *curriculum vitae* of Sir Robert Falconer it is recorded that he passed from the Faculty of Arts into the Divinity College of the Free Church at Edinburgh in 1889. The three years that followed were for him epochal in that, in the course of them, he was introduced directly into the spirit of the times and the company of those who were the creators or exponents of it. The Scottish Theological Faculties were at the height of their fame. A brilliant group of teachers were drawing students from all parts of the English-

speaking world. Their liberal tendencies put them far in advance of the schools in England, where insularity and traditional conservatism were arresting progress, except in the field of textual research to which Westcott, Hort and Sanday were contributing creative results. The contacts maintained by the Scottish theologians with the continent, particularly with the Reformed or Calvinistic branch of the Protestant confession, kept them well acquainted with the literature and thought abroad. Scottish students supplemented this influence by spending their summer vacations at German universities, where brilliant teachers were saturating the minds of their hearers with new ideas. At Edinburgh, A. B. Davidson, the Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, and Marcus Dods, the Professor of New Testament Exegesis, followed the methods of continental scholars in the interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek texts of Scripture. These methods were based on the results of historical and literary criticism as developed by almost a century of research, chiefly in Germany. The New Testament scholars were for some time fearful of the new method because, for doctrinal reasons, they were unwilling that the Gospel-literature should be handled with the freedom that in many cases they allowed to the treatment of the Old Testament. The significance of Dods, therefore, is that he stood, even in the face of a trial for heresy, for the application to the New Testament literature of the same method as was being fruitfully applied to the literature of the Old Testament. Under the teaching of these masters, the Scriptures leaped into life. Instead of being a congeries of proof-texts for establishing dogmatic systems, they became historical records of the religious experiences of a succession of great souls in a progressive unfolding of a knowledge of God. This discovery had the quickening effects of a religious revival; for it indicated that the apprehension of religious truth comes not through miraculous *ab extra* communications, but through man's moral response to the impact of the Divine on conscience and history. But it raised new difficulties for faith. What authority has this collection of records made by "fallible men"? What is the historical worth of the Gospel-records? Is Christianity in the final analysis a human construction? Where does faith find substantial evidences for the emergence of the Divine in history? With these problems unsolved, the student at Edinburgh moved over to Germany.

By the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century

Germany had won a position of great prestige among the peoples of the earth. In every field of culture, science, industry and material organization, her star was in the ascendant. Her poor endowment of natural resources had been turned into wealth because of her organizing genius and her keen perception of the practical uses of science. Her successes were confirming her in the belief that in the human will lies the secret of power and that the mind of man can penetrate all mysteries. Her ambition was to be the new Prometheus, to steal the last of the secrets from the gods. The German universities were the handmaids of this spirit of Humanism. In their halls and laboratories teachers and research experts were fashioning the hypotheses, and contributing the results, which fed the lust for supremacy in place and power. The religious thought of the country was affected by the prevailing *Zeitgeist*. The ferment was comparable in its compass, and probably in its lasting effects, only to that which occurred in the Renaissance. Nowhere had men been more quick to perceive that the old, traditional forms of thought and belief were doomed and that a new *Weltanschauung* was being born. The crisis arose because of the tension between doctrine, on the one hand, and science and philosophy on the other. The formulas of the faith remained as they had been drawn up by men who, in most instances, were ignorant of the work of such scientists as Copernicus, Newton and Harvey. But the wealth of fresh knowledge through the discoveries of the biological and physical sciences, and the development of the new sciences of anthropology and archaeology, made it clear to men of sense that the old bottles could no longer hold the new wine; all that had been previously held as truth must be subjected to review and revaluation. In short, a mood of realism had come into being; and, as William Dean Howells once said, "Realism is just the desire to see things as they are." That generation was trying to see man as a creature, a part of the natural order, and to find a formula that would in some way include all of reality. Serious men, as they became conscious of the growing gap between what the intellect accepted and what the official religion affirmed, were being driven either to agnosticism or to the search for a new form of faith—some worship of nature, some deification of man, or, in some way, a God other than that of the Church, with some new apocalypse of human evolution toward a better order of things. It is this challenge of a new faith that Ibsen presents in his play,

Emperor and Galilaean; "The third empire is here, Maximus! I feel that the Messiah of the earth lives in me. The spirit has become flesh, and the flesh spirit. All creation lies within my will and my power." That is the essence of Germany's spiritual *Kampf* towards the end of the nineteenth century. And just as in these recent tragic years we have seen German theological thought in various degrees of adaptation to, or revulsion from, the spirit of the New Order, so in those days there appeared in response to the crisis various schools of religious thought—schools of the right and of the left, as well as those of a mediating tendency.

In this period of growing tension between formal religion and thought another factor was operating to complicate the situation still further. This was the new method of historical approach to the study of biblical literature, with which were connected the names of Graf and Wellhausen so far as the Old Testament was concerned. The work of these men was attacked as Hegelian. But the attack was unwarranted, since they did not base their results on any philosophical pre-suppositions as to what the course of Israel's social and religious history must have been. In arranging the literature of the Old Testament in its historical sequence, they were guided by the same objectivity which was developing in other fields of historical research. Mommsen was to express it later in his work on Roman history; and, in the fields of medieval and modern history, it was demonstrated by Von Ranke, who said: "My object is simply to find out how things actually occurred," and "I am first a historian, then a Christian." The results of this critical method were in their major implications positive. The conception of God as immanent in the cosmic order and the processes of history was recovered to correct the exaggerated transcendentalism of the creeds, and there was a shift of emphasis from what was secondary to what was primary in the scriptural tradition. The negative implications, however, obscured for many the immense gains. Old doctrines of inspiration and revelation had to go, along with certain conceptions of the absoluteness of the authority of the Bible. More seriously, the historical method is not in itself a guarantee of absolute trustworthiness in its results. It needs to be controlled in its application by severe objectivity and a sustained inductive process. In the field of the New Testament literature, certain students, by applying the method subjectively, or under the control of Hegelian conceptions, had

weakened confidence in the origin of Christianity. Under a double attack, therefore,—by Humanism without and by pseudo-historical research within—the foundations of religion seemed to be giving way. The crisis in Germany had at this time reached a pitch that was only faintly indicated in Edinburgh.

In the midst of this conflict of tendencies there were not wanting those who drew attention to the irrationality of rationalism. Nietzsche had preached that the eye and the ear perceived only what is useful, not necessarily what is true. Lotze had emphasized that there is a *world of worths*, such as beauty, goodness, truth, happiness, pleasure, that is as real as the *world of facts and laws* of the static and dynamic sciences. Kant had already shown that the pure reason was fallible. And Schleiermacher, in line with Kant, had sought to ground religion on a feeling of dependence on God. It was under the influence of these thinkers that Albert Ritschl developed a system of theological thought which became increasingly a constructive force in theology during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and, in fact, the most widely influential since Luther's time. Ritschl divorced theology from metaphysics, repudiating Hegelianism because it tried to squeeze all life into the limits of the categories of logic. Philosophy, as such, is too limited in the stuff of its construction to compass the whole of experience. The perception of reality comes through our insight, our judgments of moral and spiritual value in facts. It is akin to what Augustine says: "Everyone who believes thinks. He both thinks in believing and believes in thinking." Christian theology, therefore, begins with man and the elements of experience. Ritschl in this way bases his thought on reality, not on *a priori* arguments about the nature of God or the world. The fact of Jesus becomes central in Christian theology. Men have an uneasy sense of being out of harmony with the life of the universe. But confronted by Jesus they experience a sense of progressive harmony with the totality of their environment. This personal power in Jesus they judged to be a power of God, and therefore, because of its uniqueness, a revelation of God, and so, final and authoritative. In the words of John Baillie, one of our contemporaries and an adherent to a form of Ritschlianism, "Religion lives by insight. A man is religious not in so far as he stumbles on certain new facts, but in so far as he discovers a new meaning in facts that are known to us all. It is in this discovery, in this insight, that he comes into touch and

commerce with the unseen God." The criticisms that may be raised against this form of thought are obvious. It may be said, for instance, that it puts too much weight on the subjective judgments of the individual. But Ritschl, who was no friend of mysticism, anticipated this by subordinating the religious judgment of the individual to the collective judgment of the Christian community. The fruits of the consciousness of God are demonstrated practically in the realization of the Kingdom of God, inclusive of the Church, in the world. The motto of this system is, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." Because of its groundwork it delivered faith from thraldom to the contingent and gave new force to the aphorism, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

This attitude to the substance of faith and to the world, because it drew him to it irresistibly in his visits to Germany, became permanently dominant in Sir Robert's thought and action. Apart from its services to his mind at that critical time, it must be recognized that it was also congenial to his nature because of its blend of fact with spirit and of faith with practice. He met it not through Ritschl himself but through two of Ritschl's distinguished disciples, Harnack of Berlin and Herrmann of Marburg. In course of time, the followers of Ritschl divided into several schools in the effort to fill out or correct some of the deficiencies in the system. And, like others, Sir Robert made his own adjustments, but the Ritschlian point of view remained with him to the end. His writings still further confirm such an observation, as we shall see.

Ritschl held that his teaching was a return to Luther, which means that it was a return to the records of the New Testament, that is, to the Jesus of the Gospels and to the judgment of the early Christian community as embodied in the apostolic writings. Harnack in his brilliant lectures on the History of Dogma maintained that after the apostolic times Christianity had obscured the mind of Jesus through its concern to come to terms with Greek philosophy. But the answer to his question *Was ist Christenthum* involved an examination of the literary evidences. The Gospels must in some way furnish us with a reliable witness of Jesus' teaching and the impression of his Person, and the rest of the canonical literature must furnish evidences as to the mind of the early Christian community. Otherwise, the Ritschlian position becomes untenable. When, therefore, our student returned from the continent to Canada to become a teacher in New Testament

Exegesis, he had to come to grips with the most destructive results of radical critics. The work of men of the type of the German scholar Schmiedel, and the Dutch scholar van Manen, which appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1899), reduced the authentic contents of the Gospels to a few fragments and transferred the Epistles to some post-apostolic period. Little was left on which to build faith securely. By the time that the young professor was ready to write, the extravagances of criticism, particularly in respect to the Gospels, with the exception of *John*, and most of the Pauline Epistles, were being corrected by a saner control of the method. But the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles together with the Epistle to the Hebrews were, as they still are, matters of widely divergent opinions. It was natural, therefore, that because of his point of view he should be attracted to this field of investigation.

Five years, it seems, were spent in orienting himself to the material. Then there appears in *The Expositor* (1897) an article on "The Prologue to the Gospel of St. John," followed by another on "The Future of the Kingdom" (1899), and a little later, by a fine example of his skill in textual criticism with reference to the text of Jude (1901). Thereafter, there flows a stream of articles in journals and bible dictionaries on I and II Timothy, Titus, I and II Peter, Hebrews, and Philippians. He became a recognized authority on the first five of these epistles, and the greater number of his contributions concern them.

After Sir Robert retired from the presidency of the University, he published his mature conclusions on these books in his last major work, *The Pastoral Epistles* (1937). He admits, in general, an element of subjectivity in applying critical methods to the literary material.

> Radical results may be arrived at by a thoroughly Christian scholar in the process of his scientific investigation. These same results may be reached by one who does not accept the Christian faith. But in another Christian scholar the quality of his faith may make some evidence reasonable which does not appeal to either of the others . . . . But he must be warned to make allowance for the probable refraction of the path of light in the deeper strata of his convictions which have not hitherto been disturbed.

These words adumbrate his own technique in criticism. In respect to the Pastorals he arrives on independent lines at the conclusion that in their present form they came from the hand of an editor, possibly a disciple of Timothy, who put together "memorials,

written or oral, of the teaching of the Apostle." In the analysis of the text, his identification of the primary and secondary elements is in general agreement with the consensus of other scholars, though in certain details he will be found at variance with them. His tendency is to be conservative in dating the Epistles with which he deals. I Timothy is dated "not long after the Book of Acts" (i.e., ca. 90), which is a mediating position. In 1909 he dated Hebrews 96 A.D., but in 1943 he revises his opinion in favour of making 70 A.D. the *terminus ad quem*. For a time he stood almost alone among leading scholars in maintaining the genuineness of II Peter; in 1909 he assigned it to a post-petrine editor within the first century; in 1943 he transfers it to the first part of the second century. With characteristic openmindedness, he was unwilling to regard matters in his field as closed issues, although the motive in his research was to establish the evidences for the mind of the apostolic age. The lectures with which, barely two months before his death, Sir Robert brought to a close his career as a student of the New Testament, are appropriately entitled, *The Heart of the New Testament*. They come to us as a rich legacy of his maturest thought on the problems that for almost a life-time had claimed his attention and concern. Their conciseness conceals the stores of learning that made them possible. The purpose that inspired him in their preparation was to trace the steps by which the Jesus of History became the Christ of the Church. In the course of them we see how true he remains to the point of view which from the outset of his scholarly work he had adopted. Holding in substance the historical genuineness of the Gospels, he accepts the miraculous with some degree of rationalization, attaches little importance to the Form-critics, minimizes the significance of the Eschatologists, and exhibits a light regard for the negative results of radical criticism as inspired by the *Religionsgeschichte* movement; on the other hand, he recognizes that "some aspects of the 'liberal' Jesus are gains," particularly in respect to the recovery of the historical background. But his theme is that Christ is the sole source of Religion and Theology. "Behind it all there stands a Personality of supreme majesty and love." The impact of that Personality on the disciples and Paul "anchored the Eternal in human history." The Church is the creation of that moment because the experience of the apostolic age is a reproducible experience.

In the last analysis, Sir Robert Falconer's view of the world, of

history and of society can be described by one word, Christocentric. If one keeps that fact in mind, then his life assumes a singularly integrated pattern. Because his faith was so simple, so certain, so heartfelt, he stood out like a rock, strong and stable, amid the cross-currents of our sinister contemporary world.

> Thus unto all who hav found their high ideal in Christ,
> Christ is to them the essence discern'd or undiscern'd
> of all their human friendships; and each lover of him
> and of his beauty must be as a bud on the Vine
> and hav participation in Him . . . .
> This is the rife Idea whose spiritual beauty
> Multiplieth in communion to transcendant might.—
> (Robert Bridges, *The Testament of Beauty*.)

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TENNYSON, BROWNING, AND A ROMANTIC FALLACY

LIONEL STEVENSON

ONE of the most revealing phenomena in literary history is the transition between generations. Each batch of neophyte authors is confronted with a psychological dilemma. Are they to accept their elders as models and gratify a ready-made public demand by conforming to all the established techniques and taboos? Thus did the generation of Pope inherit from Dryden, and the generation of Johnson from Pope. Or are they to embark upon a spectacular revolution, openly defying the sanctions of seniority and setting up strange new idols? Thus did the romantic generation rebel against the neo-classical.

A third possibility, however, remains open. The advancing generation may select certain elements for retention, and yet profoundly modify these by shifting the emphasis or adding new qualities. Characteristic of the Victorian principle of compromise was the fact that the major Victorian authors were thus both the inheritors and the transmuters of the tenets of romanticism. Only by a careful study of how the romantic impetus slackened during the 1820's and '30's, while new interpretations were slowly, experimentally applied, can we begin to understand how that complex intellectual fabric that we label "Victorianism" came into being.

The way to the transition was conveniently opened by the high mortality rate among authors during the fifteen years prior to 1835. How different the record of the mid-century would be if Byron, Shelley, and Keats, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Jane Austen, had lived to three-score and ten, or to the normal Victorian fourscore. In consequence of the widespread supervention of death, however, the 1830's were left almost totally devoid of major authors of established reputation. Prolific and facile writers flourished rankly in this interval by the easy device of imitating the most successful achievements of the previous generation. Historical novelists in the wake of Scott, exotic and erotic poets in the wake of Byron, gossiping humourists in the wake of Lamb—these were the authors who occupied the public eye. Less conspicuous in their own day, but more significant in the perspective of time, other writers were awkwardly freeing themselves from the dead hand of the great romantics, and finding out the ideas and tech-

niques that were to ripen these obscure young innovators into the mellow sages of the high Victorian summer.

Every one of the great Victorians went through this process of half-unconscious revolt. Revering the masters of romanticism, they nevertheless had to face the alternative of slavish discipleship or self-respecting independence, and unwillingly enough they obeyed the inner compulsion toward the harder path.

In taking Tennyson and Browning as two exemplars of the transition, one may be astonished to find that their development followed an identical pattern. Unlike though their work was in technique and personal colouring, divergent though they became in their ultimate interests, these two men, who were later to share the pre-eminence of Victorian poetry, went through precisely similar processes of expansion, and, it would seem, completely independently of each other.

With both, the focal point of their problem was the influence of Shelley. Whereas other romantic poets had appealed more strongly to the general public, Shelley possessed qualities that exerted the most violent fascination upon the young intellectuals of the late '20's. His soaring imagination, his elusive skill in poetic melody and connotative suggestion, his mixture of Platonic idealism, Rousseauesque primitivism, and Godwinian radicalism, all merged into an incendiary compound that set the undergraduate mind ablaze.

And yet, with all its fascination, Shelley's poetry revealed a flaw of judgment that was too obvious to be ignored. Just as in his own life, whenever he applied his theories to his conduct, he veered again and again over the invisible line dividing the sublime from the ridiculous—in his Oxford demonstration, his Irish escapade, his dealings with his wives and friends, his inadequate contacts with the Italian and Greek revolutionaries—so in his poetry the rational reader could not help seeing a basic fallacy. All the world's problems were to be solved in one vast millenial transformation-scene, as soon as certain existing institutions such as kings and priests should be overthrown and a few simple axioms of liberty accepted by all mankind. In this great revolution, the function of the poet was an essential one—a task not of executive action, but of invisible guidance. Personally obscure and isolated, hidden in the light of thought, the poet is to devote himself to singing hymns unbidden till the world is wrought to sympathy with

hopes and fears it heeded not. This is the dissemination of his thoughts that Shelley implores of the west wind; this is the supernal attitude that he allocates to himself in the *Ode to Liberty:*

> My soul spurned the chains of its dismay,
> And in the rapid plumes of song
> Clothed itself, sublime and strong;
> As a young eagle soars the morning clouds among,
> Hovering in verse o'er its accustomed prey;
> Till from its station in the heaven of fame
> The Spirit's whirlwind rapt it, and the ray
> Of the remotest sphere of living flame
> Which paves the void was from behind it flung,
> As foam from a ship's swiftness. . .

Again and again Shelley reverted to his favourite images of the sunrise and the wind and the eagle, his personification of Freedom as a colossal Amazon with lightning-flashing eyes. And always the poet, exalted above human limitations by the inspiration of his cause, was the herald and interpreter of the New Order.

To the young intelligentsia of the next generation the humanitarian ideal of Shelley's poetry was still potent; but as they looked judicially at the record of the struggle for liberty during the half century since the Declaration of Independence, they could not honestly subscribe to his simplified programme for its achievement. So far as the specific role of the poet was concerned, they could not help feeling that Shelley's self-elected position, even though he described it as something like a spiritual broadcasting station, was not essentially very different from the traditional ivory tower; and that in such lofty isolation the poet was likely to devote himself so ardently to the abstract vision of all humanity that he would soon lose sympathy with the unsatisfactorily obstinate and illogical human beings who populated the world without. Lacking such an understanding of human shortcomings and individual human problems, how could the poet hope to "scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth ashes and sparks," his words among mankind?

By examining the attitude of Tennyson and Browning toward Shelley, therefore, we can observe the most distinct evidence of their evolving relationship with the essential romantic point of view. Tennyson may be considered first, on the grounds both of seniority and of fuller data.

I

The youthful work of Tennyson which appeared in *Poems by Two Brothers*, when he was seventeen, was obviously saturated with Byron. His first poem of any length, *The Lover's Tale*, written in his nineteenth year, was not published until fifty years later, and Tennyson then stated categorically, "It was written before I had ever seen Shelley, though it is called Shelleyan." We can easily believe that no rumour of that dangerous and incomprehensible rhapsodist had penetrated to the quiet rectory library at Somersby.

When Tennyson emerged from the Lincolnshire wolds, however, in 1828, and became acquainted with the nimble-witted "Apostles" at Trinity College, Cambridge, he promptly discovered that Byron was out of fashion, and that the favourite poets of the young intellectuals were Wordsworth, Coleridge and, above all, Shelley. In 1829 debating teams of the Cambridge and Oxford Unions argued the relative poetic merits of Shelley and Byron. Even such a dilettante undergraduate as Thackeray was stirred by *The Revolt of Islam* to the extent of planning an essay on Shelley for a projected student magazine (which never saw the light).

The effect on Tennyson was instantaneous. Among the poems written during his first two years at Cambridge were at least three which sprang directly from his discovery of Shelley. Perhaps the most remarkable was *The Mystic*, in which he combined a Shelleyan description of poetic imaginative insight with a more personal element derived from his own occasional experiences of mystical trances and visions:

> Angels have talked with him, and showed him thrones:
> Ye knew him not; he was not one of ye,
> Ye scorned him with an undiscerning scorn:
> Ye could not read the marvel in his eye,
> The still serene abstraction: he hath felt
> The vanities of after and before. . . .
> Always there stood before him, night and day,
> Of wayward vary-coloured circumstance
> The imperishable presences serene,
> Colossal, without form, or sense, or sound,
> Dim shadows, but unvarying presences
> Fourfaced to four corners of the sky:
> And yet again, three shadows, fronting one,
> One forward, one respectant, three but one;

And yet again, again and evermore,
For the two first were not, but only seemed,
One shadow in the midst of a great light,
One reflex from eternity on time,
One mighty countenance of perfect calm,
Awful with most invariable eyes. . . .
How could ye know him? Ye were yet within
The narrower circle: he had well-nigh reached
The last, which with a region of white flame,
Pure without heat, into a larger air
Upburning, and an ether of black blue,
Investeth and ingirds all other lives.

The second example, entitled *To Poesy*, compressed into a sonnet almost all the most familiar of Shelley's images of the battle for truth and freedom:

O God, make this age great that we may be
As giants in Thy praise! and raise up Mind,
Whose trumpet-tongued, aerial melody
May blow alarum-loud to every wind
And startle the dull ears of human kind!
Methinks I see the world's renewed youth
A long day's dawn, when Poesy shall bind
Falsehoods beneath the altar of great Truth:
The clouds are sunder'd toward the morning-rise;
Slumber not now, gird up thy loins for fight,
And get thee forth to conquer. I, even I,
Am large in hope that these expectant eyes
Shall drink the fulness of thy victory
Tho' thou art all unconscious of thy might.

The same view of the leadership of Poetry in greeting the sunrise of the new Golden Age was expressed in another poem that is more familiar, being one of the few from the 1830 volume that Tennyson retained in later editions of his work. In this piece, *The Poet*, he again embodies Shelleyan concepts—the wind-and-seed metaphor, the sunrise simile, the "Statue of Liberty" personification. As in Shelley, the poet is gifted with supernatural insight: he was born "in a golden clime, with golden stars above. . . . With echoing feet he threaded the secretest walks of fame" (cf. "the heaven of fame" in *Ode to Liberty*, *supra*). As in Shelley, the poet remains aloof, but "the viewless arrows of his thoughts" are scattered broadcast, arousing responses in many other minds:

Thus truth was multiplied on truth, the world
Like one great garden show'd,

> And thro' the wreaths of floating dark upcurl'd,
> Rare sunrise flow'd.
>
> And Freedom rear'd in that august sunrise
> Her beautiful bold brow,
> When rites and forms before his burning eyes
> Melted like snow. . . .

The two Shelleyan poems, *The Mystic* and *The Poet*, stood out conspicuously in the 1830 volume, *Poems Chiefly Lyrical*, as being almost the only ones to deal primarily with ideas. The others were principally songs and pictorial pieces, significant only for their vague melancholy mood and their egregious use of sound-effects. The preponderance of Claribels and Madelines and Orianas in these poems, the general Gothic atmosphere of misery and gloom, were not at all prophetic of Tennyson's later development, but belonged to the never-never land of romantic day-dreaming which found its eventual exponent in that master of melancholy, melody, and morbidity, Edgar Allen Poe. In short, on the evidence of the 1830 volume, one would say that Tennyson's only humanitarian interest was an occasional and synthetic echo of Shelley's.

Various forces, however, soon drew his attention strongly in that direction. For one thing, the salutary frankness of the review by Christopher North, ridiculing the overpraise of Tennyson's "genius" in the review by Hallam, was explicit on this very point: "At present he has small power over the feelings and thoughts of men. His feebleness is distressing at all times when he makes an appeal to their ordinary sympathies. And the reason is, that he fears to look such sympathies boldly in the face." It is well known that this review caused Tennyson to discard a number of the more trivial poems, and severely to revise some of the others; but clearly it also had the more positive effect of impelling him to attempt the writing of new poems to supply the human interest that had been declared deficient.

Secondly, there was the attitude of J. W. Blakesley, who was generally regarded as the most brilliant and influential among the "Apostles," and whom Tennyson had apostrophised enthusiastically:

> Clear-headed friend, whose joyful scorn,
> Edged with sharp laughter, cuts atwain
> The knots that tangle human creeds,
> The wounding cords that bind and strain
> The heart until it bleeds. . . .

> Weak Truth, a-leaning on her crutch,
> Wan, wasted Truth in her utmost need,
> Thy kingly intellect shall feed,
> Until she be an athlete bold. . . .

Writing to Tennyson in 1830, *à propos* of their friend John Sterling, who was being accused of radicalism, Blakesley gave his views on the function of poetry with his customary incisiveness:

> The present race of monstrous opinions and feelings which pervade the age require the arm of a strong iconoclast. A volume of poetry, written in a proper spirit, a spirit like that which a vigorous mind indues by the study of Wordsworth and Shelley, would be, at the present juncture, the greatest benefit the world could receive. . . .
>
> Sterling . . . saw the abuses of the present system of things, which is upheld by the strong hand of power and custom, and he attacked them accordingly. . . . He soon saw that . . . the cause of evil . . . was the selfish spirit which pervades the whole frame of society at present, and that to counterbalance the effects the cause of them must be removed. This end, he at first probably thought with Shelley, might be effected by lopping off those institutions in which that selfish spirit exhibits itself, without any more effort. He afterwards saw, with Wordsworth, that this was not the true method; but that we must implant another principle with which selfishness cannot co-exist. . . .

This definite preference for the quiet human sympathy of Wordsworth over the quixotic fulminations of Shelley is a plain hint of shifting allegiance on the part of the bright young men at the university.

Furthermore, Tennyson was at this time taking an unwontedly active part in political affairs. He gained a first-hand acquaintance with the proletarian unrest in England by going out with parties of fellow-undergraduates to fight the incendiary rick-fires on the farms around Cambridge; and in the summer of 1830 he went to Spain with his friend Hallam to deliver funds from English sympathizers to the insurgent leader Torrijos. His sojourn with this worthy, in his mountain fastness, gave him a more realistic conception of the struggle for liberty than Shelley had ever obtained.

On the other hand, Tennyson's adherence to Shelley's abstract principles was greatly weakened by the sudden emergence of the new socialistic doctrine of the technocratic state, based on the writings of Saint-Simon, and particularly by the attempt to graft socialism upon religion, as represented by Saint-Simon's book, *Le Nouveau Christianisme*. Toward the end of 1831, the correspondence between Tennyson and Hallam was much concerned with the Saint-Simonians, whose opinions, they agreed, "resembled

those of Shelley, although they were much more practical." In a letter to one of his aunts, Tennyson adopted a more reactionary tone than he permitted himself in discussions with his Cambridge friends:

> Reform and St Simonism are, and will continue to be, subjects of the highest interest. The future is dark in the prospect. . . . Reform (not the measure, but the instigating spirit of reform, which is likely to subsist among the people long after the measure has passed into a law) will bring on the confiscation of Church property, and may be the downfall of the Church altogether: but the existence of the sect of the St Simonists is at once a proof of the immense mass of evil that is extant in the nineteenth century, and a focus which gathers all its rays. I hope and trust that there are hearts as true and pure as steel in old England that will never brook the sight of Baal in the sanctuary, and St Simon in the Church of Christ.

In spite of the rather doubtful attitude toward Reform expressed in this letter, when the news of the passage of the Reform Bill reached Somersby in the dead of night, Tennyson and his brothers and sisters scandalized the new rector by turning out and ringing a peal of triumph on the church bells.

Inevitably, therefore, the poems written during 1831 and 1832 reveal Tennyson's deepening concern for social considerations. Among the poems devoted to the theme, the most significant is certainly *The Palace of Art*. In the late spring of 1832, it made a profound impression on the group at Cambridge. As each man came up for the summer term, he was ceremonially introduced to the poem, and because of the paucity of manuscript copies James Spedding and probably others memorized it in its entirety.

Many modern readers of Tennyson seem to be so impressed by the descriptive virtuosity of *The Palace of Art* that they are blinded to its allegorical significance. The famous series of pictorial stanzas constituting the first half of the poem are merely preparatory to the narrative in the later part; and that narrative includes some of the grimmest glimpses of spiritual agony that English poetry affords. The theme of the poem, of course, is selfishness; not the materialistic greed for wealth and power, but the smug intellectual complacency that revels in the cultural heritage of modern man as a refuge from the contaminating vulgarity of the masses. The lordly pleasure-house which the poet builds for his soul is equipped with all the beauty of the arts and all the intellectual range of history and philosophy. From this ivory tower the

poet's soul gazes with pitying contempt on the "herds of swine" in their commonplace activities and their inexplicable agonies:

> "In filthy sloughs they roll a prurient skin,
> They graze and wallow, breed and sleep;
> And oft some brainless devil enters in,
> And drives them to the deep."

His soul's megalomania also produces a blasphemous usurpation of the role of deity:

> "O God-like isolation which art mine,
> I can but count thee perfect gain. . .
>
> I take possession of man's mind and deed.
> I care not what the sects may brawl.
> I sit as God holding no form of creed,
> But contemplating all."

But this exquisite cult of beauty and aloofness eventually crumbles. For three years the soul of the poet enjoys its egocentric seclusion, touched with only occasional premonitory twinges about "the riddle of the painful earth." (One wonders, incidentally, why Tennyson set the time-span so specifically—can it have any allusion to the three years he spent at Cambridge?) Then in the fourth year comes the frightful sequel—the paroxysms of insane dread induced by loneliness, and at last the spiritual death that carries with it the conviction of eternal exile from God's care. After this vivid portrayal of death-in-life, the conclusion follows as something of an anticlimax, being a brief and almost perfunctory "resurrection," wherein the now-penitent soul discards her royal robes, flees from the inhuman solitude of the palace, and seeks a cottage in the vale. Most anticlimactic in the narrative, and yet most significant in the symbolism of the poem, is the final stanza:

> "Yet pull not down my palace towers, that are
> So lightly, beautifully built;
> Perchance I may return with others there
> When I have purged my guilt."

With its obviously autobiographical (one might say, its confessional) emphasis, *The Palace of Art* was Tennyson's manifesto of new resolutions. Its contrast with *The Poet* shows a complete conversion in three years. Then, the poet was to be an exalted prophet and seer, privileged to explore "the secretest walks of fame" from which all profane intruders were excluded; the task of the generality of mankind was to receive the poet's revelation with

devout credulity and then to do the heavy work of putting it into practical effect. Now, however, the poet has been stripped of his sanctity and mystery; he is to be the servant of mankind, rather than its leader; his endowment with exceptional insight and knowledge brings with it the responsibility of understanding the problems of "l'homme moyen sensuel" and thereby aiding that hapless being to acquire a first glimpse of beauty and truth.

With this guidance from *The Palace of Art*, we can turn to another of the best-known poems of the 1833 volume and find it reiterating the same doctrine. Some people are a trifle baffled by *The Lady of Shalott*, because of its apparent lack of motivation and its understressed conclusion. While its symbolism is less overt than that of *The Palace of Art*, the theme is the same. As a matter of fact, the image used in both of them—a bored and solitary maiden magically isolated from all intercourse with the real world—had a peculiar fascination for Tennyson. He had already used it for purely decorative effect in the most skilful poem of his earlier volume—*Mariana*—and had liked it so well that he added a companion picture, *Mariana in the South*. Then it reappeared in allegorical guise in *The Palace of Art*. We may call *The Lady of Shalott* a combination of the two: it has the legendary and decorative qualities of *Mariana* but also the symbolic meaning of the later poem. For the Lady of Shalott, be it remembered, was an artist: her full-time activity was the weaving of a tapestry depicting—supposedly—scenes from human life. But her personal participation in life was nil, and she did not even observe it directly, but only as reproduced by her mirror. As soon as a single flash of genuine human emotion dispelled her abnormal detachment, the mirror and the tapestry vanished and the lady set out to discover real life for the first time. This is the essential climax of the poem, and it was with the intention of focussing the emphasis upon it that Tennyson withheld the happy ending that sentimental readers expected.

The conception of the poet's function which Tennyson thus proclaimed in his volume of 1833 remained throughout his career. To this he owed the success of *In Memoriam*, which stirred thousands of readers who were usually immune to poetry but who found in it an honest record of doubts and inconsistencies comparable with their own, and an encouraging creed that was not proclaimed dogmatically but suggested with due humility. To this too he

owed the unpopularity of *Maud*, which was unsparingly attacked for its inclusion of realistic detail and contemporary historical events. And to this he owes the general critical contempt now heaped upon the *Idylls of the King*, because that poem discussed the problems of Victorianism and expressed the moral standards of the era, instead of reconstructing the primitive violence of the middle ages. Consistent to his principles, Tennyson pointed every one of his poems toward those "ordinary sympathies of men" which Christopher North had found so sadly ignored in the *Poems Chiefly Lyrical* of 1830.

II

When we turn our attention to Robert Browning, we find exactly the same debate dominating his mind in the same years. Owing to his determined destruction of all his juvenile writings, we have no direct evidence as to his earliest work; but those who saw the collection entitled *Incondita*, which he wanted to publish at the age of twelve, were unanimous in the opinion that it was entirely imitative of Byron; and another fragment of his early verse is described as being directly derived from Coleridge's *Fire, Famine, and Slaughter*. His discovery of Shelley took place at an earlier age than Tennyson's: he was only fourteen when he caught sight of "Mr Shelley's Atheistical Poem (very scarce)" on a second-hand bookstall, and thereafter pestered his mother until she obtained for him the complete works of this almost unknown poet.

His subjection to Shelley was immediate and complete. Straightway he became "a professing atheist and, for two years, a practising vegetarian," and his discipleship was equally thorough in the art of poetry. Accordingly, his first published poem, *Pauline*, written at the age of nineteen, was saturated with both the techniques and the ideas of Shelley. To be sure, *Pauline* was vaguely dramatic in method, and by attributing the whole monologue to an unnamed speaker, a world-weary intellectual and *roué*, Browning sought to protect himself from the assumption that it was autobiographical; but his subsequent efforts to suppress it were plain evidence that it was uncomfortably personal, and it can safely be accepted as a dramatically heightened record of the ideas that were rather incoherently crowding his mind at the time.

Several extensive passages of the poem expressed his reverential enthusiasm for Shelley:

> Sun-treader, life and light be thine for ever!
> Thou art gone from us; years go by and spring
> Gladdens and the young earth is beautiful,
> Yet thy songs come not, other bards arise,
> But none like thee: they stand, thy majesties,
> Like mighty works which tell some spirit there
> Hath sat regardless of neglect and scorn,
> Till, its long task completed, it hath risen
> And left us, never to return, and all
> Rush in to peer and praise when all in vain.
> The air seems bright with thy past presence yet,
> But thou art still for me as thou hast been
> When I have stood with thee as on a throne
> With all thy dim creations gathered round
> Like mountains, and I felt of mould like them,
> And with them creatures of my own were mixed,
> Like things half-lived, catching and giving life. . . .

The whole of *Pauline* uses familiar Shelleyan moods and symbols, such as the "beautiful witch" passage (in which, just as Tennyson does in *The Palace of Art*, the poet personifies his soul as a rapacious woman). But the theme of the poem throughout is the spiritual sin committed by the man who divorces himself from sympathetic contact with his fellow-beings. His strongest trait is

> self-supremacy,
> Existing as a centre to all things,
> Most potent to create and rule and call
> Upon all things to minister to it.

A lonely childhood caused him to dramatize what he read until it became more real than actual life:

> . . .My first dawn of life
> Which passed alone with wisest ancient books
> All halo-girt with fancies of my own;
> And I myself went with the tale—a god
> Wandering after beauty, or a giant
> Standing vast in the sunset. . .
> I had not seen a work of lofty art,
> Nor woman's beauty nor sweet nature's face,
> Yet, I say, never morn broke clear as those
> On the dim clustered isles in the blue sea,
> The deep groves and white temples and wet caves. . . .

(Compare the Lady of Shalott, with her second-hand reproduction of the world that she may not gaze on.)

Then came his discovery of Shelley, who inspired him to conceive

vast vague schemes for human betterment, "wild dreams of beauty and of good":

> . . .My choice fell
> Not so much on a system as a man—
> On one, whom praise of mine shall not offend,
> Who was as calm as beauty, being such
> Unto mankind as thou to me, Pauline,—
> Believing in them and devoting all
> His soul's strength to their winning back to peace;
> Who sent forth hopes and longings for their sake,
> Clothed in all passion's melodies. . . .
> How my heart leapt as still I sought and found
> Much there, I felt my own soul had conceived,
> But there living and burning! . . .
> I was vowed to liberty,
> Men were to be as gods and earth as heaven.

These visions, however, remained totally unpractical, because they were based upon abstractions instead of genuine experience; and with growing disillusionment he became an introspective and cynical onlooker, "shut out from hope or part or care in human kind":

> First went my hopes of perfecting mankind,
> Next—faith in them, and then in freedom's self
> And virtue's self, then my own motives, ends
> And aims and loves, and human love went last.
> I felt this no decay, because new powers
> Rose as old feelings left—wit, mockery,
> Light-heartedness. . . .
> My powers were greater: as some temple seemed
> My soul, where nought is changed and incense rolls
> Around the altar, only God is gone
> And some dark spirit sitteth in his seat.
> So I passed through the temple and to me
> Knelt troops of shadows, and they cried "Hail, king!
> We serve thee now and thou shalt serve no more!
> Call on us, prove us, let us worship thee!"

In this passage the resemblance to Tennyson's *Palace of Art* (written at exactly the same time) is astonishing.

Browning's speaker is now contemptuous of the Shelleyan concept of poetic leadership:

> And when all's done, how vain seems all success—
> The vaunted influence poets have o'er men!
> 'Tis a fine thing that one weak as myself
> Should sit in his lone room, knowing the words

> He utters in his solitude shall move
> Men like a swift wind—that tho' dead and gone,
> New eyes shall glisten when his beauteous dreams
> Of love come true in happier frames than his.
> Ay, the still night brings thoughts like these, but morn
> Comes, and the mockery again laughs out
> At hollow praises, smiles allied to sneers.

The conclusion of *Pauline* is like that of *The Palace of Art*, or even more like that of *The Lady of Shalott*. The speaker, through bitter suffering that approaches melancholic insanity, finally realizes the error of his aloofness, and admits that human sympathy and love alone can bring significance to his existence. "Sad confession first, remorse and pardon and old claims renewed" are essential before he can "hope to sing" as he used to do in his visionary youth. Like the Lady of Shalott, he finds this regeneration through love for one of the opposite sex, and, like the Lady, he does not survive to put his new discovery into practice. In brief, *Pauline* shows clearly how the unpractical dreams of social metamorphosis, nourished on Shelley, can change into anti-social withdrawal and cynical contempt for mankind, only to be redeemed by tolerance and the sharing of human miseries.

Having thus sketched the character of an impatient utopian, Browning used it over again in his next two long poems, giving it added firmness of contour by using actual persons from history as his models. In *Paracelsus*, he chooses an ambitious scientist who is determined to achieve knowledge with the objective of benefitting the human race. Contemptuous of the laborious researches of previous scholars, whose vaunted knowledge has brought no appreciable improvement to the lot of mankind, Paracelsus sets forth to discover some all-embracing principle that shall be the key to every problem. His chief method is to be solitary communion with nature, and therefore he schools himself to give up all human contacts and natural pleasures. Scornful of common aims and limited intellectual processes, he expects some sudden revelation of the ultimate secret of life. His friend Festus argues with him in vain, and accuses him of personal ambition and impious presumption; but Paracelsus is adamant in his ideal. The subsequent episodes of the poem show him attaining outward success and fame, but inward bitterness as he realizes how far he is falling short of his purpose; and he becomes contemptuous of the stupidity of the public, which seeks him out for such shallow reasons.

At this point appears the complementary figure of the poet Aprile, another and still more Shelleyan type of the idealist, impelled by a sincere but diffuse love of mankind, and oppressed with a sense of guilt for having failed in a great mission of leadership. Aprile is haunted by an accusing voice,

> As if all poets, God ever meant
> Should save the world, and therefore lent
> Great gifts to, but who, proud, refused
> To do his work, or lightly used
> Those gifts, or failed through weak endeavour,
> So, mourn cast off by him for ever,—
> As if these leaned in airy ring
> To take me; this the song they sing.
>
> "Lost, lost! yet come,
> With our wan troop make thy home.
> Come, come! for we
> Will not breathe, so much as breathe
> Reproach to thee,
> Knowing what thou sink'st beneath
> Sank we in those old years. . .
> Must one more recreant to his race
> Die with unexerted powers,
> And join us, leaving as he found
> The world, he was to loosen, bound?"

Aprile had begun his career with such an intense love of all life that he was eager to create a realistic and yet beautiful panorama of it, including the commonplace as well as the magnificent:

> . . .Common life, its wants
> And ways, would I set forth in beauteous hues:
> The lowest hind should not possess a hope,
> A fear, but I'd be by him, saying better
> Than he his own heart's language.

Aprile's failure to carry out his aim was due to impatience: he was so hypnotized by the vastness of his vision that he never could single out a specific theme and struggle to embody it in effective words. Admiring Paracelsus' apparent success (and ignorant of his inward discords), Aprile exclaims:

> Thou didst not gaze like me upon that end
> Till thine own powers for compassing the bliss
> Were blind with glory; nor grow mad to grasp
> At once the prize long patient toil should claim,
> Nor spurn all granted short of that.

From the death of Aprile in this bitter disappointment, Paracelsus catches a first glimpse of his own error; but many years of disillusioning experiences are still necessary before his egotism is subdued. In the closing section, "Paracelsus Attains," he is depicted on his death bed, emerging from delirium to a final clear recognition that his initial error had been the exclusion of human sympathy and understanding, his contempt for the immediate, practical services by which he might have advanced the human cause a few paces toward the distant goal.

The fullest and most revealing treatment of the theme is to be found in *Sordello*, which was begun shortly after *Pauline*, although its completion was delayed for seven years. *Sordello* remains the greatest storehouse of clues to Browning's mind, because it is two poems at once. The constant interpenetration of these two, in addition to the subtlety and complexity of each of them, is responsible for the poem's notorious obscurity. One of the topics is the historical biography of the Mantuan troubadour; the other is the extraordinarily intimate and informal commentary in which Browning takes the reader recurrently into his confidence and discusses not only the events of the poem but also those of his own artistic development. And in both elements of the poem, the theme of *Pauline* and *Paracelsus* is reaffirmed.

So far as the character and career of Sordello are concerned, we find once again the dreamy, self-centred intellectual, shaped by a lonely childhood in which the romances he reads become a substitute for reality. He builds his "palace of art" out of the sculptures and tapestries and legends at the castle of Goito, and easily imagines himself the equal or the superior of all the great folk who are his "puppets." When circumstances suddenly give him self-confidence by proving his skill in song-making, he blossoms into an arrogant young poet, certain that his imaginative power exalts him far above the level of fallible human beings with their transient emotions:

> "The world shall bow to me conceiving all
> Man's life, who sees its blisses great and small
> Afar—not tasting any."

His poetry is to prove to his hearers that "whate'er they are, or seek to be, I am." To which Browning appends his ironical aside:

> All right enough, dear monarch; take your ease,
> Look on and laugh; style yourself God alone;
> Strangle some day on a cross olive-stone!

Rejecting all human considerations, he attempts to create his poems, not out of experience or sympathy, but by a pure act of imagination, or "Will." Consequently, his poems depict personified abstractions:

> Virtue took form, nor vice refused a shape;
> Here heaven opened, there was hell agape,
> As Saint This simpered past in sanctity,
> Sinner The Other flared portentous by
> A greedy people.

In spite of his initial success and his great talents, his audience soon gets weary of "portions of ourselves, mere loves and hates made flesh." His efforts to give more realistic detail and passion do not ring true, and his flights into more philosophical abstractions are not understood. Thus "sundered in twain, . . . the Poet thwarting hopelessly the Man," Sordello loses all his creative power, and flees to the refuge of his childhood home.

A failure as a poet, he attempts a new career in public affairs. Caught up in the political intrigues of Guelphs and Ghibellines, he goes to Ferrara expecting to find great men of action who will be the instruments of his designs. He is discomfited to realize that very few are great, and that even these derive their greatness from their being the representatives and accepted spokesmen of the vast anonymous mass of their followers:

> Reckon that morning's proper chiefs—how few!
> And yet the people grew, the people grew,
> Grew ever, as if the many there indeed,
> More left behind and most that should succeed,—
> Simply in virtue of their mouths and eyes.
> Petty enjoyments and huge miseries,—
> Mingled with, and made veritably great
> Those chiefs. . . .
> . . . While
> Crowd upon crowd rose on Sordello thus, . . .
> The new body, ere he could suspect,
> Cohered, mankind and he were fully fused,
> The new self seemed impatient to be used
> By him, but utterly another way
> Than that anticipated; strange to say
> They were too much below him. . .
> What booted scattered units?—here a mind
> And there, which might repay his own to find,
> And stamp, and use?—a few, howe'er august,
> If all the rest were grovelling in the dust?

Here is an entirely new concept for Sordello, who has previously thought of the general public merely as an inert background for his self-display. He fervently adopts the new slogan, "How render first these people happy?" As regenerator of the proletariat, he can find the magnified body that his ambitious spirit needs.

By this standard he realizes that Guelphs and Ghibellines alike are unjust and cruel, exploiting the public that they claim to protect. Brooding on the ancient Roman democracy, he hatches a grandiose scheme of a humanitarian Italian nation, with the warring factions united under the spiritual government of the Church:

> Rome typifies the scheme to put mankind
> Once more in full possession of her rights.
> "Let us have Rome again! On me it lights
> To build up Rome—on me, the first and last:
> For such a future was endured the past!"
> And thus, in the grey twilight, forth he sprung
> To give his thoughts consistency among
> The very People.

Fresh disillusionment follows. As he sees more of the poverty and degradation of the masses, his ideal Utopia collapses. The chasm is too vast; no action of his can ever suffice to rescue these miserable creatures. Then comes a revelation:

> God has conceded two sights to a man—
> One, of men's whole work, time's completed plan,
> The other, of the minute's work, man's first
> Step to the plan's completeness: what's dispersed
> Save hope of that supreme step which, descried
> Earliest, was meant still to remain untried
> Only to give you heart to take your own
> Step, and there stay—leaving the rest alone?

Browning embroiders this idea in a long passage based on the proverb, "Rome was not built in a day." With renewed determination to contribute his share, however slight, Sordello sets out to effect a preliminary union of the two factions, and his supreme effort at length enables him to utter a profoundly moving plea. He draws a word picture of human life in its mingled good and evil, in its indomitable upward struggle; and expresses a mystical concept of the poet's unity with the race-soul:

> "Already you include
> The multitude; then let the multitude
> Include yourself; and the result were new:

> Themselves before, the multitude turn you.
> This were to live and move and have, in them,
> Your being, and secure a diadem
> You should transmit. . ."

This view of the poet as "earth's essential king," merging himself in the multitude so that he can ameliorate their lot, is the counterpart of Tennyson's termination of *The Palace of Art*.

The unexpected outcome of Sordello's appeal is that the badge of supreme authority is conferred upon him; but its acceptance will entail compromise with the established autocracies. Sordello is unequal to the dilemma: the conflict between his innate egotism and his new-found ideal of abnegation is so devastating that it kills him. But his final gesture of spurning the symbol of power indicates that the cause of human sympathy has prevailed.

Thus Browning presents for a third time the story that was obsessing him—the painful transition of a gifted mind from egocentricity through utopianism to altruistic tolerance. The two previous poems are paralleled even in the romantic morbidity of having the hero die on the threshold of triumph. In *Sordello*, however, there is also the interwoven commentary that gives Browning's personal views on the topic. Near the beginning, he repeats his vow of allegiance to Shelley; but further on he definitely indicates that in the course of writing the poem he went through a conversion from romantic utopianism to realistic humanitarianism, by a debate as earnest as Sordello's own (though less fatal in its outcome).

He depicts himself in Venice, whither he has come on a holiday at a time when the poem has run aground and obstinately refuses to progress. His plan had been to develop a conventional romantic plot, with love for the high-born Palma as Sordello's motivating force, but this has come to seem trivial and factitious. Sitting on the step of a decaying palace, watching the crowded life along the canal, he suddenly discovers the clue to both Sordello's dilemma and his own. He sees now the absurdity of the perfectionism that had originally inspired him,

> who asked at home that the whole race
> Might add the spirit's to the body's grace,
> And all be dizened out as chiefs and bards.

As he looks at the pretty, lively peasant girls, he thinks for a moment that here may be a valid ideal—the improvement of purely physical conditions:

I ask youth and strength
And health for each of you—not more. . . .

If the poem is to be continued on this theme, he can pick out any one of the bare-legged peasant maidens and make her Sordello's "queen" in place of the exquisite Palma. Thus he would commit himself to the theory of "primitivism," proclaiming a return to nature as the solution for all evils.

At the moment, he is accosted by a pitiful, starving beggar woman, a "sad dishevelled ghost." He tries to ignore her, to rationalize these evidences of misery as inevitable and incurable:

As good you sought
To spare me the Piazza's slippery stone
Or keep me to the unchoked canals alone,
As hinder Life the evil with the good
Which make up Living, rightly understood.
Only, do finish something! Peasants, queens,
Take them, made happy by whatever means,
Parade them for the common credit, vouch
That a luckless residue, we send to crouch
In corners out of sight, was just as framed
For happiness, its portion might have claimed
As well, and so, obtaining joy, had stalked
Fastuous as any!

But such an evasion, using "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as a pretext for neglecting the "luckless residue," revolts him. Here he proclaims his apostasy from the utilitarianism that was the creed of many of his close friends in England. Instead, he must face this miserable outcast and accept her as his "mistress,"

With those thin lips on tremble, lashless eyes
Inveterately tear-shot. . . .
Care-bit, erased,
Broken-up beauties ever took my taste
Supremely; and I love you more, far more
Than her I looked should foot Life's temple-floor.

In this symbol of humanity at its lowest and sorriest, Browning finds his "ravishingest lady," whose cause he must espouse. Thus the continuation of Sordello's story is determined; and thus, too, the whole future pattern of Browning's poetry. His rehabilitations of the forgotten and the misunderstood, his probings of the strange and sometimes terrible depths of personality, are foreshadowed here when he says to his new-found mistress:

Ask, moreover, when they prate
Of evil men past hope, "Don't each contrive,

> Despite the evil you abuse, to live?—
> Keeping, each losel, through a maze of lies,
> His own conceit of truth? to which he hies
> By obscure windings, tortuous, if you will,
> But to himself not inaccessible; . . .
> some fancied right allowed
> His vilest wrong, empowered the losel clutch
> One pleasure from a multitude of such
> Denied him."

This purpose of tolerant psychological analysis controlled the whole series of his later dramatic monologues, up to their climax in *The Ring and the Book*, wherein a sordid, forgotten murder case becomes the epic of unflinching realistic sympathy.

To be sure, Browning never lost his personal devotion to Shelley. He implied it in the unfortunate *Lost Leader* (1842), where Shelley was the only poet of the romantic generation named in the list of great liberals contrasted with the reactionary "lost soul," Wordsworth. He reiterated his loyalty in *Memorabilia* (1855), and the same interest prompted the writing of his sole prose essay. But actually, the record of the three long poems, written between 1832 and 1840, proves that Browning, as distinctly as Tennyson, transformed the abstract utopianism of Shelley into a very different creed of practical, tolerant concern with commonplace human affairs.

It may not be too fanciful to suggest that the concurrent changes in the theories of physical science played some part in the conversion. When Shelley was at school, the dominant geological hypothesis was "catastrophism," with its impressive concept of violent transformations. By the time Tennyson and Browning were inquiring into cosmology, the "uniformitarianism" of Hutton and Lyell had established the belief in an imperceptibly slow evolution. So far as the question of the poet's social function is concerned, another and more modern analogy may be applicable. The romantic poets, in their attitude toward everyday humankind, were isolationists: the contemptuous sneers of Byron, the visionary stratospheric flights of Shelley, even the pensive observation of Wordsworth, all implied that the poet dwelt apart and offered a superior ideal which struggling humanity ought to recognize and accept. The Victorian poets, on the contrary, were interventionists, unhappily but unalterably convinced that they must take part in the struggle, no matter how slow and inadequate might be the progress they would help to win.

CANADA'S MANPOWER POLICY

PAUL MARTIN, M.P.

JEB STUART, the famous cavalry commander in the Confederate forces, once gave his formula for winning battles as "gittin' thar fust with the mostest." In his own colloquial way Jeb was stating a vital principle. He referred, of course, to numbers of trained soldiers; today we have to think largely in terms of volume and quality of war materials and equipment. The central problem of the nation in wartime, however, still remains that of manpower.

Modern total war has forced upon us the realization that an adequate manpower programme requires far more than merely recruiting and training men for the armed forces to engage the enemy on the battlefield. The entire population and resources of each combatant nation are necessarily involved. Warfare has become immeasurably more scientific, mechanized and destructive. Each man in the armed forces consequently requires far larger provisions of munitions and other goods and services than ever before. On the outbreak of war, the highest possible proportion of the working population must be transferred quickly to the exclusive production of munitions and other supplies for the armed forces. The remainder of the population must be restricted as much as possible to the production and consumption of essential civilian requirements only—the essential quotas of food, clothing, transportation, administration, education, medicine and like services without which the health and efficiency of our working population would decline. Total war, in brief, forces a nation to squeeze its population like an orange, to wring out every last drop of effort and productivity.

The Government in Canada then, as in any other nation similarly engaged in the present critical struggle, has faced two main tasks: first the problem of *general* mobilization, both civilian and military, to assure that every person who is able to work shall undertake some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production, or in a vital civilian activity; secondly the more precise and complicated task of *selection* and *placement.* That is to say, within the broad framework of general mobilization, every person should be placed in the position where his or her individual ability or training may be used to greatest effect. These are the

ultimate objectives of our National Selective Service programme in Canada.

Canada today has reached a high degree of general mobilization, as I have been using the term. The number of persons in the armed forces and at work has increased by about one million since the start of the war, and they now constitute about 60 per cent of the total population aged fourteen and over. The remaining 40 per cent include housewives, teen-age youths in school or college, the aged and unfit, and others at present unavailable for gainful employment. We have almost three-quarters of a million persons in the armed forces, and over a million persons working in war plants and associated industries. Almost two million people altogether, then, have left their ordinary civilian pursuits. These, together with the 2,100,000 persons engaged in agriculture and essential civilian employment, include 70 per cent of all males in Canada of fourteen years of age and over.

Much has been done, but much still remains to be done, in the selection and placement of this huge labour force. As mobilization proceeds, and labour shortages become more severe, this problem assumes ever greater importance. We have not as yet achieved the most effective distribution of our workers—perhaps we shall never be able to do so because of the vast area which has to be covered—so that the maximum possible output of goods and services can be attained. Perhaps we erred in failing to establish a programme like National Selective Service earlier in the war. However, we are making rapid strides, as the personnel in our Employment and Selective Service Offices acquires greater experience and efficiency in placing workers where they are best fitted to serve.

Meanwhile, we must not overlook the fact that the achievements of our working population to date have been tremendous. About three-quarters of a million of Canada's most fit and able men have been withdrawn from production to serve in the armed forces. Despite this terrific drain of manpower, our economy has produced a huge increase in goods and services needed by Canada and her allies. The total value of Canada's yearly output has almost doubled, increasing from a little over five billion dollars before the war to almost ten billion dollars in the current fiscal year. At the same time, the rise in average prices has been small, so that most of this increase represents real goods and services.

To put it another way. The war, paradoxical as it may sound, has in a sense paid a substantial part of its own cost to Canada, because it has forced us to be more efficient and to produce far more with the means we have at hand. Manpower (and let me emphasize that "man" in this sense embraces "woman")—manpower, resources and capital equipment that were partially or wholly unemployed in peacetime, have now been mobilized and put to work in wartime to produce, not only the tools of destruction, but also many things which we civilians might otherwise not have had.

These results were not achieved automatically. The proper use of our manpower required much planning and experimentation. Much sweat and tears and many long hours in the Department of Labour have gone into this planning. But I think results show that Canada has done a good job in the use of her manpower. In having to tread on new ground, mistakes inevitably have been made, as we see in looking back on it now. The Government perhaps should have introduced compulsory control over employment earlier than it did. Some non-essential industries should perhaps have been restricted and some vital industries expanded more than they were. Some essential industries have been allowed to go dangerously short of labour at times. Some discrepancies have developed in wages and earnings in various industries and occupations. And so on. The miracles of war production and mobilization of our armed services did not just "happen." Perhaps planning has momentarily lagged behind the need, but the miracle has been performed, not under Nazi compulsion, but within the free and for the most part voluntary framework of a democracy. You cannot drive men to work and get the miracles of performance which Canada has achieved. Today, as the strains of war increase, we have sacrificed the almost absolute freedom to seek employment and hire employees. In its place we have a closely controlled placement system, operated by government agencies that have wide compulsory powers.

This system, however, could not be built up overnight. Its very magnitude and complexity, and the dangers it faced of creating disunity and friction, compelled us to be careful in our policy, and perhaps even over-cautious at times. It was a particularly difficult undertaking in Canada, because we had little in the way of tradition, trained staff, or established machinery, to support a

policy of government-controlled employment. Great Britain has had employment exchanges in operation for some thirty years, in connection with her unemployment insurance programme. The United States has had a similar system operating for almost ten years. Canada's employment exchanges did not begin to operate on a nation-wide basis until 1941 under the new Unemployment Insurance Commission, and by that time we had been locked in war for two years.

To repeat, our lack of previous experience with manpower problems of the kind we have encountered in this war required the Government to adopt new measures gradually, so as to avoid causing unnecessary hardship, discontent and conflict. Over the past four years the manpower situation in Canada has gone through three general phases.

(1) In the beginning, from the outbreak of war until well on in 1940, we might say that the Government had *no* planned manpower programme, in the sense of organized control and regulation of civilian employment. A large volume of unemployment, much unused or idle resources and capital equipment, and large inventories of consumers' goods, enabled us to eat our cake and have it too. For a while, men could be recruited for the armed forces and hired in expanding war industries without causing shortages in other fields, because there were large reservoirs of unemployed men and unused materials or plants.

This could not last long. Dunkirk shocked us into action. It was necessary to speed up production and military training and thus draw upon our pools of manpower and equipment. Acute shortages began to develop among various types of skilled labour, and certain goods and materials began to run short. It became obvious that an unregulated labour market during wartime would lead to chaos. Scarce labour, like scarce machinery and materials, was being "hoarded." Employers kept skilled workers idle on their payrolls, in anticipation of large orders in the future. Labour "poaching" or "pirating" also developed as employers with war contracts outbid one another for workers. This tended to bring runaway wage and price increases in some industries and occupations, and thus led to high labour turnover that hindered efficient production.

(2) The Government consequently embarked on a second phase of manpower policy—what we may call *partial regulation*

over military service and civilian employment. In the summer of 1940 a national registration was conducted, and a special wartime training programme was established to provide skilled men for the needs of industry and the armed forces. Up to the end of 1941 a few additional measures were taken to improve the distribution of manpower, by facilitating the placement of technically trained persons in war industries, by prohibiting employers from soliciting workers already engaged in war industries, and by authorizing the Government to help workers defray their expenses in moving from one locality to another when needed in war industries. The National War Labour Board also came into being, late in 1941, to stabilize wages and salaries and thus prevent uncontrolled increases in costs of production that might wreck the price-control programme and bring the disaster of inflation.

(3) These measures alone were not sufficient to handle the rapidly growing demands for manpower. To use that well-worn phrase, we were beginning to "scrape the bottom of the barrel." Shortages were no longer confined to a few occupations. A scarcity of *all* kinds of labour was developing, and the situation in some industries was rapidly becoming critical. Voluntary means had to give way to more drastic measures.

Accordingly, the Government embarked on a third phase of manpower policy, which we may call *positive control* or *compulsory regulation*. The administration of all manpower measures, which had previously been the concern of several departments and agencies of the Government, was now centralized under the Minister of Labour. A series of orders-in-council were passed in March, 1942, and later amended and consolidated in the National Selective Service Regulations of January, 1943. These now provide a broad and comprehensive programme of control over the whole economy. I need not analyse all these regulations in detail. To summarize them briefly, they are designed to maintain and increase the manpower available for the armed forces and vital industries or services, by reducing the number of people employed in less essential activities. The extent of government control over individuals can be measured by the general rule that, with few exceptions, employers and employees are prohibited from advertising for jobs, from terminating employment without seven days' notice, and from seeking, being interviewed for or offered employment without a permit from a Selective Service officer.

Several compulsory measures passed in the last few months have put still more teeth into the regulations. Employers in a wide range of non-essential or low priority industries and occupations are now prohibited from retaining male workers between the ages of sixteen and forty without a special permit. Persons in a growing list of occupations, including teachers and civil servants, as well as workers in high priority industries, have been "frozen" or required by law to remain at their present type of employment.

The National Selective Service programme in general has been highly effective in increasing the manpower available for the essential services. Since March, 1942, the strength of the armed forces has been increased by more than 300,000, and the number of persons in war plants and associated industries by more than 400,000. Most of this increase has come voluntarily, though it should be noted that in the last five months an additional 13,500 persons have been compulsorily transferred to high priority industries from less essential employment.

The female population in particular has furnished a large and growing supply of labour power to replace able-bodied males. Women employed in manufacturing have increased from about 144,000 in 1939 to 419,000 at the present time. In war industry alone the number employed has increased from 96,000 in January, 1942, to more than 250,000 today. A campaign is now under way to recruit housewives for part-time as well as full-time work.

Compulsory job-freezing or job-transfer is not a pleasant prospect to those who have to give up positions of relative security which they like, to accept or remain in jobs that may be disagreeable or have a precarious future.

The policy of wage-freezing, which has been designed to prevent inflation, further complicates the problem. It is very difficult to administer without injustice to someone, particularly in those cases where higher wages are paid in one plant than in another doing the same kind of work. Workers naturally want to change jobs in such a situation. I heard a rather humorous example of this just recently.

A big husky fellow came up to talk to Mr Wilson one day in the Regional Office in Toronto, and he seemed distraught. He said, "Mr Wilson, you know I have lots of trouble. I come down from the Collingwood Shipyards and go for work by the Toronto Shipbuilding Company. They say to me, 'Mike, you got to have per-

mit. You got to go see Temple.'" Now Mr Temple is Manager of the Toronto Local Office. Mike said, "You see, Mr Wilson, I look for the Temple; they tell me, 'You can't see.' I see the twelve apostles, I see the Judas Iscariot, I see the angels, but I don't see the Temple. How do I get to see the Temple?"

Mr Wilson asked him what his difficulty was, and he said that he had left his job at the Collingwood Shipyards because they paid ninety cents an hour and the Toronto Shipbuilding Company paid $1.10 an hour. Mr Wilson pointed out that his brothers (Mike was a Russian) were fighting over in Russia and not asking how much money they were making. It was his duty to fight with Canada and help Russia by building corvettes up at Collingwood. Mike had one or two drinks aboard. He beat his brow and said, "Oh, Mr Wilson, I can't think. I've got to go away and pray to the God. He tell me what I got to do."

When Mike got back it was apparent that he had had two or three more drinks meanwhile and he said, "Mr Wilson, I go home, I go to my room, I get down on my knees by the bed and I pray to the God to tell me what I got to do. God said to me, 'Mike, you fight just as good for Russia for $1.10 an hour as for ninety cents.'" However, Mike did not get a permit and was told that he would have to go back to the Collingwood Shipyards to work.

Further increases in production will require Canada to employ even more effectively. This will entail continued training and upgrading, such as we have engaged in all along, advancing workers in status wherever possible, and "diluting" or breaking down jobs into their component parts, so that skilled workers can be released for more difficult or important tasks and the less skilled can be utilized for simpler operations. Furthermore, much remains to be done to increase production by establishing more amicable labour relations in industry.

Special steps have been taken to guarantee an adequate labour force for the nation's agriculture. Farmers and farm labourers are exempted from military service unless their work is deemed non-essential. No person employed in agriculture may take other work (except for temporary seasonal employment outside urban areas), that does not interfere with agricultural production. To prevent labour shortages and losses of crops in any regions, the Minister of Labour has been authorized to enter into agreements with each of the nine Provinces to recruit and transport farm workers from one prov-

ince to another, according to the changing needs of agriculture. In addition, an agreement has been reached between the Department of National Defence and the Department of Labour for detailing soldiers for temporary farm duty. And, finally, special plans have been made to utilize the services of conscientious objectors, Canadian Japanese, and prisoners of war. The Department of Labour has adopted a policy of gradualism in utilizing the prisoners of war. However, the plans have proceeded far enough to permit my saying that three thousand prisoners of war are now at work in agriculture.

Particularly severe labour shortages have developed in certain processed food and fuel industries, and the Government is exerting its utmost powers to deal with them. As an outstanding example let me describe briefly the extreme case, that of coal-mining. In England the coal shortage became so serious that the Government finally resorted to outright conscription of men for work in the mines, on the same basis as for service in the armed forces. Here in Canada we have not reached so drastic a stage, but our manpower policy for this industry is nevertheless effective. The serious shortage of coal in Canada arises from the fact that we ordinarily rely on imports from the United States for about one-half of our coal needs, and for even more since the war began. These imports have had to be limited during the past few months, however, because American industry has needed more coal for its expanding war production, and American home owners have needed more coal to replace their diminished supplies of oil, and coal production at the same time has been interrupted in the United States by labour disputes. Canada, then, has had considerably to increase her domestic production in order to meet her expanding needs and replace the loss in imports. Our ability to raise our production of coal depends, of course, on increasing the numbers of men employed in coal-mines during the year. By April, 1943 the number had fallen to about 23,600. It was estimated that some 4,000 ex-coal-miners were employed in other industries, and that as many as 9,000 had enlisted in the armed forces.

Drastic measures, accordingly, had to be taken to prevent a shortage of coal that might seriously impair the war effort. Special orders-in-council were passed, which exempted coal-miners from military service and even prohibited them from enlisting; the Department of National Defence also agreed to release coal-miners from the armed forces to make them available for the

mines; employers in all industries were required to release all ex-coal-miners in their employ, and the ex-coal-miners were required to report for interview to Selective Service officers and accept work in the coal-mines. And, finally, Selective Service officers were empowered to direct *any* man between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five to work at coal-mining, as well as at fuel-wood cutting, fishing and fish-processing.

By these means several thousand additional coal-miners have been made available for production in the past few months, but a serious shortage still exists. Only a handful of ex-miners are still employed in other industries, and they are being rapidly "combed out." The only remaining source for recruiting additional men now seems to be the armed services.

Coal-mining is an extreme case, but it illustrates how far we have gone, and how far we are willing to go, to meet manpower crises. The Canadian Government, like other governments, has been accused of temporizing and excess caution in wartime, of failing to take the necessary steps early enough to avoid crises of the kind that developed in the coal industry. On the other hand, it must again be pointed out that it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Government to have taken such steps much earlier than it did. People generally do not welcome extreme measures of control until a crisis has actually developed. For that reason a democratic government like ours must rely largely upon voluntary co-operation and persuasion, and use compulsion only as a last resort. Had we used compulsory wage-fixing, job-freezing, and transfers of men to coal-mines or other industries in 1940 or 1941, before the real shortages were being felt, then in the interests of justice and equal sacrifice we should have had to apply such measures to all industries. Many people at that time felt that the Government should have been willing to go that far. But no policy can be put into effect without the appropriate agencies and personnel to administer it. And, needless to say, it takes much training and experience to develop a good administrative staff. We simply did not have, and were not expected to have, a large administrative organization built up beforehand to apply compulsory control over all labour and industries, or even over the most important segments. Our manpower programme had to be developed gradually, and we are still faced with a shortage of staff, that prevents us from achieving an adminis-

tration as efficient as we should like to have. When people complain today about "bureaucratic" interference and inefficiency, think how much more interfering and inefficient a large and inexperienced bureaucracy would have seemed back in 1940 or 1941.

A programme of the magnitude I have been describing necessarily brings some hardship, injustice and friction. Criticism and complaint are thus bound to arise. But a lack of criticism or complaint would be cause for real alarm, as it would indicate a dangerous apathy. Only in a dictatorship do we expect people to submit passively to being pushed around like pieces on a chessboard. As a nation we have long placed a high value upon the traditions of freedom, on the liberty of the individual to seek opportunity: the profit-freedom of the labourer to choose his own job, and the freedom for the employer to choose the men he will hire and the goods he will buy and sell. For the first time in our history these liberties have had to be widely curtailed, and some resentment naturally arises.

Wage- and job-freezing do not offer the only difficulties in our programme. Many other social problems attend the wholesale transfer of hundreds of thousands of people to work in different industries, occupations and localities. In overcrowded centres of war industry it is extremely difficult to provide adequate facilities for food, lodging, and medical care, transportation, recreation and education—in a word, for general family welfare. Large-scale employment of women in particular raises a host of new requirements, ranging from new work-clothes and rest-rooms to day-nurseries and pre-natal counsellors. Yet all such welfare provisions must be made if we are to improve the efficiency and morale of our working population and thus reduce the incidence of labour turnover, absenteeism, and strikes.

From all this, experience of permanent value has been gained. The problems of mobilizing manpower for the war effort, and the solutions arrived at, have pointed the way towards the solution of some of our most pressing peacetime labour problems. The war has brought us to a clearer realization that the efficiency of a factory is intimately related to the welfare of its employees and the goodwill of the community in which it is situated. Factories today, in order to recruit and retain adequate labour forces, have to rely increasingly upon community services and government agencies providing health, medical and education facilities. This

growing interdependence between government, factory and local community is likely to have far-reaching implications in the post-war world. The system of public employment exchanges and job placement as part of a broad unemployment insurance programme will probably remain as a means of organizing the labour market more efficiently than before, in order to reduce the burdens of unemployment. Above all, the war has shown us Canada's real potentialities. With proper financing and efficient use of our manpower and resources, we as a nation are capable of producing a much larger output of goods and services, an output sufficient to provide a far higher living standard for our people than ever before.

Canada's manpower programme admittedly has not been perfect, but then perfection in this department is probably impossible of achievement. The war situation is inevitably subject to sudden and unforeseen changes which alter the needs of our industries, and of our armed forces and those of our allies. The distribution and employment of our manpower, consequently, are likewise subject to sudden and unforeseen changes. While the demands of war production and of our civilian needs have reached the peak, we have not attained the objective in so far as the three armed services are concerned. Our requirements for the three armed services are 15,000 a month. These requirements will have to be supplied mainly by industry. The task that remains to us, then, is continually to improve the planning of our production and the employment of our manpower, so as to meet the changing needs of war to the utmost of our ability. And we must not relax our efforts in the peacetime economy to come after victory, when we shall face tremendous problems of re-employment and reconstruction.

THE NEAR EAST TODAY AND TOMORROW

W. R. Taylor

AT the outset of a discussion of the Near East it is necessary to define the lands that are covered by this general geographical term, since there is some want of uniformity in its application. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines the *Near East* as the south-eastern part of Europe, i.e., the Balkan states together with Asia Minor; it defines the *Middle East* as the south-western countries of Asia. This definition reflects the point of view and the usage in the political language of Europe. But on this side of the Atlantic the practice is to follow the universal usage of students of Eastern cultures and languages in defining the Near East as those lands contiguous to the south-eastern shores of the Mediterranean, along with Asia Minor and Arabia, while the term *Middle East* is applied to Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan.

It has to be allowed, however, that the distinction between *Near East* and *Middle East*, as thus defined, is often very fluid, since the cultural factors that bind, for example, Iraq with Egypt transcend the geographical conditions of distance and desert that on the map seem to divide them. For the same reason it is difficult to determine where the western bounds of the Near East should be marked. The history of Egypt has been affected by invasions from Libya at intervals for several thousands of years; and since the days of Caliphs all the lands on the south shore of the Mediterranean have shared a common heritage of language, literature, religion, and custom. Practical recognition of the basal unity of the culture of these Levantine countries is seen in the recent transference of certain British civil officials from Transjordania to Benghazi for the administration of Libya and the adjoining districts, their acquaintance with the one country fitting them for service in the other.

The area of the Near and Middle East exclusive of the countries west of Egypt is about 2,500,000 square miles—roughly, the area of Canada with British Columbia and the Yukon left out. Of this area Arabia occupies 1,000,000 square miles; Egypt, 383,000; Turkey, 280,000; Persia, 600,000; and the Iraq, 116,000. The population of the area is now over 65,000,000, of which 35,000,000 belong to the Arab-speaking peoples, or 50,000,000 if we include the countries west of Egypt. Egypt, Turkey and Persia have each about

the same population-figure, Egypt being slightly in the lead over the other two with its 17,000,000. This Near-East population, unlike that of most occidental regions, is gathered in foci or islands of habitation. In the Arab-speaking area there is a fairly continuous strip of green stretching in a great arc or crescent from the Delta of the Nile to the head of the Persian Gulf. Within this crescent are three river valleys. The two greatest are the Nile, at one end, and the Tigris-Euphrates, at the other; the third is that which lies between the Lebanon ranges and is watered by the Orontes and Litani rivers and the rains which these mountains cause to fall. In Arabia proper, there are the moist fringes of the coast-lands, and the rare fertile spots in the interior, which together form the Nejd. Between these cultivable areas provided by rivers and rainfall lie the great deserts and steppes, which like great seas offer formidable barriers against intercourse. It is because of these geographical conditions that the Arab-speaking population falls into blocks. The 17 millions of Egypt are concentrated in 3 per cent of its area; the 3½ millions of Syria-Lebanon are shut up to 50 per cent of its fifty-eight thousand square miles; 80 per cent of Transjordania is arid; in Arabia, less than 2 per cent of the land is cultivable. Since the wastes of the Near East are unchangeable because waterless, it is obvious that these natural features must be viewed as fixed and inescapable. Even if by more scientific methods of irrigation and cultivation and by the introduction of industry the population of this area might be raised to fifty or sixty millions, the elemental facts would not be altered; the population would still be distributed as in times past.

The influence of geography has gone further and made it impossible in the long history of these lands to effect stable political unity. Each region developed inevitably its own life with its own economic order and social structure, and with its particular relations with foreign peoples and cultures. And within each of the larger divisions smaller ones existed. In Syria there have always been Damascenes and Alepins, in Mesopotamia Baghdadis and Mosulis, and in Egypt the communities of Upper, Middle and Lower Egypt with Cairenes over against the Alexandrians. Politically, there is always this centrifugal tendency in the East, an inherent dislike of large overriding authority. And, socially, these parts have at no time up to the present shown any uniformity; tribalism, feudalism, and monarchism of one form or another, have persisted together.

And to these contrasts must be added the eternal conflict between the Bedawin and the settled people, between the desert and the town.

The net result of these factors which we have been outlining is to suggest that the Near East is a region of divisions, and that an all-inclusive political union of the Arab-speaking peoples of the Near East, such as the Pan-Arab leaders envisage, would at the present time go counter to the genius, history and conditions of these peoples. The Arabs, however, have a saying, "Men resemble their day more than their fathers." It is possible, therefore, that a new day may yet witness revolutionary changes in the mould of the Near East. But when we recall that in these times only Egypt has evolved something like a national consciousness and that no country in which the Pan-Arabs have been most active has yet achieved the same sense of local unity, we feel that some time must elapse before the larger hope can be realized.

On the other hand the Pan-Arab knows, what we all know, that there are other factors which in large measure transcend these socio-geographical forces that work against unity in their world. Ninety-two per cent of the Arab-speaking peoples are Muslims, which means that a common pattern of religious practice, law, buying and selling, contracts, marriages, domestic institutions, private conduct, and public relations, holds them together by bonds that are akin to those of patriotism. Nearly one hundred per cent of them use the same language in their daily affairs; and, though the dialect of one region may differ from that of another, an Iraqi and a Misri understand one another as well as a Glaswegian and a Cockney; Mecca and Tunis listen to the same Arabic broadcasts. The journals and books which pour from the presses from Algiers to Baghdad are governed by one literary standard, that set by the Koran. The Holy Cities in Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Arabia, where in the annual pilgrimages thousands of Muslims commingle, quicken powerfully the sense of a community of interests and loyalties. Then we must not forget that a basis for the unity of these peoples lies in a common pride in their history. They have not forgotten that for several centuries (from the eighth to the fifteenth) they were the dominant world power; that their sway, extending from India to the Pyrenees, exceeded that of any earlier empire. Their history has had a more impressive glory and continuity than that of any European power. When they fell apart under the rule of the later caliphs, they were brought

together again in the Ottoman Empire, which in its turn continued to emphasize the importance of the Near East in the affairs of the world. And with the recollection of this past political significance there remains also their memory of their cultural leadership. When Europe was involved in the darkness and ignorance of the Middle Ages, they preserved, extended and in due course transmitted to the West, not only the accumulated stores of the science and the philosophy of the Graeco-Roman civilization, but also much of the best of Byzantine and Persian art, architecture and literature. They founded the earliest universities in Europe. Their works in medicine, astronomy, chemistry, physics, geography, theology, ethics, logic, metaphysics, history and poetry became the first text-books of the West. They had even to teach us chivalry and good manners. "When the Crusading Knights were settling their differences by personal combat in the arena, the more civilized Near East was using law courts and fixed legal codes." They remember this legacy of their former glory. A modern Egyptian addressed a group of students who were setting out to Europe for study in these words: "The parting prayers of your parents will cry out in your ears that you belong to a people who have a great past, and this past lays on you the charge that while you may change it, you may not despise it."

Then there is another powerful factor which effects a sense of unity in the Near East, the general belief that the Western powers have not dealt fairly with them. They argue that after the collapse of the Turkish Empire, a greater measure of freedom and independence should have been accorded to them, and that the mandatory powers in violation of their pledges resisted political development in the occupied countries. Skilful leaders and organizations, supported by ample contributions from native and Axis sources, and by broadcasts from Berlin and Bari, and more recently from the "Free Arabia" radio-station in Athens, have steadily fomented these grievances, however real or unreal in fact. Since 1939 the catchword of this propaganda is "Freedom from the Anglo-Jewish yoke." We may not complain of the methods of the agitators, since they follow the techniques employed by us against the Turks in the last war, but we cannot overlook the results. No leading Near-Eastern power, with the questionable exception of Iraq, has declared war against the Axis countries. Despite the correct attitude of the government of Egypt in the fulfilment of its treaty obligations to

Great Britain, and despite the influence of the pro-British premier Mustapha Nahas Pasha, Egypt has given no active military assistance to the Allies. In every country in the Near East there are powerful groups hostile to the Allied cause, whose designs are at present countered more by the sheer indifference of the populace than by any positive enthusiasm for the United Nations. The sum of our argument is that the Near East, in spite of its social and geographical handicaps, is awake with a new sense of its common heritage and interests, but this awakening is in these days accompanied by suspicion of, and hostility to, the democracies of the West.

The analysis of this situation is complex. Some of the contributory causes are imperialism, commercialism, the administration of the mandates and, ironically, the growing westernization of the East.

The entrance of Western imperialism into the Near East dates from the time of Napoleon. The plan of the French was to open up again Western trade with the whole of the East through the southeastern Mediterranean ports and so destroy the trade supremacy enjoyed through the British control of the routes around the Cape. In 1797 Talleyrand wrote to the French Directory: "Establishing the French in Egypt will bring about a revolution in European commerce, which will strike particularly at England. It will destroy her power in India, the only basis for her grandeur in Europe. . . . When the French Republic becomes master of Cairo, and consequently of Suez, it will make little difference in whose hands the Cape of Good Hope happens to be."

From that time Turkey became "the sick man" of the political world. By two major strokes the death of the sick man was brought about. The first was delivered by Mehmet Ali, Pasha of Egypt and friend of France. In two battles between 1831 and 1833 this vassal of Turkey drove the Turks out of Syria, and sent his son Ibrahim into Asia Minor on a victorious march against Constantinople. For various reasons the European powers, with the exception of France, feared that this Moslem leader might split up the Turkish Empire and precipitate unpredictable crises. They conspired, therefore, by threats and by promises to force him back into Egypt; and they gave a sop to his pride by recognizing him as a quasi-independent ruler with dynastic rights within the Turkish Empire. The consequences of Mehmet Ali's successful challenge of Turkish

power followed thick and fast. The powers in various ways sought for spheres of influence in Syria and Palestine. The English, for example, in 1841 assisted in the establishment of a bishopric in Jerusalem, although there were no Anglicans in the country. The Jews in 1878 initiated a scheme of colonization along the coast of Palestine; and the English assumed the role of protector of Jews in Palestine and Syria. Later, both the Russians and the Germans built large hospices and imposing cathedrals in Jerusalem. In 1860 France landed troops in the Lebanon to protect the Christian minorities and restore order, thus giving reality and emphasis to her so-called *droit historique* in Syria, which she based on French holdings there in the time of the Crusades, and on her claim from 1535 to be the natural protector of all Christian minorities throughout the Levant—a claim which so far as Palestine is concerned she gave up or suspended (at the insistence of the Pope) only in 1922, four years after the English occupation. The quarrel between Russia and France in 1850 over the relative rights of Latin and Orthodox priests at the Holy Places in Bethlehem and Jerusalem was only a prelude to a demand by Russia, in 1853, that the orthodox clergy in the Ottoman Empire be given extra-territorial rights, which was tantamount to a demand for an official right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. The Crimean War, which followed, seemed to be a triumph for Turkey's cause; in reality, it put Turkey under the protection of all the Great Powers, who solemnly swore to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. This formal engagement, however, did not prevent Russian political manœuvres in the Balkan area, and in 1878 Serbia, Roumania and Bulgaria declared their independence of Turkey. In the same year Cyprus was ceded to Britain, and Bosnia to Austria. France, which had taken over Algeria in 1830, added Tunisia to her African dominion in 1881. Italy, coming later on the scene of international politics, forced Turkey in 1912, after a brief war, to surrender Tripoli and Libya, the last of its African possessions.

The helplessness of Turkey in the face of the steady dismemberment of her territory showed that the sick man was near to death. The *coup de grace* to the Ottoman Empire was delivered through the events of the First World War. In the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) the Sultan renounced sovereignty over Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Arabia, and formally recognized the loss of Egypt, Cyprus and North Africa. Those clauses of the ill-fated treaty were not

changed in its later revision at Lausanne. The conference at San Remo (1920) parcelled out the mandates, which were duly confirmed later by the League with the adjustments recognized by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

In order to understand the course of the peace-settlements in the Near East we must keep in mind the broad understanding of the Triple Entente into which Russia, France and Great Britain jointly entered shortly before the First World War. The building of the Suez Canal had made both Egypt and the region east of the canal a vital concern of the British Empire. After the Russo-Japanese War the rivalries between the three powers became more tense in the Near East. The Russians, after their ambitions in the Far East had been checked, sought room for expansion in south-west Asia, particularly, to provide Siberia an unrestricted outlet to an open sea, and they crowded the interests of the Austro-German group as well as those of the British and the French. The conclusion of the Triple Entente eased the tension so far as the contracting powers were concerned. The region of the Caucasus and Persia was recognized as Russia's sphere of influence with due allowance for British interests in Persia; Syria, i.e., the region west of a line drawn through Damascus, as France's; Egypt, the Suez region and Mesopotamia as Great Britain's. The conception of the Berlin-Baghdad railway was the counter-stroke of the Austro-German group.

The much discussed Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, entered into by Great Britain, France and Russia, followed the lines of the Triple Entente so far as the allocation of the Ottoman Empire was concerned, except that the distributions were on an ampler scale; Russia in addition to Eastern Anatolia was to receive Constantinople, plus territory on either side of the Bosphorus; France was to receive a large part of southern Anatolia and territories east of Damascus as far as Mosul; Great Britain was to take, over and above the Iraq, all that lay between the Euphrates and the Suez, and, in addition, the two ports of Acre and Haifa. Palestine was to be under a régime of international control. The Agreement was a secret arrangement. It was made by the British after and, presumably, on the strength of the conversations which Sir Henry McMahon had initiated with the Sherif Husain. Knowledge of its terms came to Husain only in 1917, after the Bolsheviks had published it along with other secret documents in the archives of the Czarist Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In their dealings with the

Sherif, the British had made vague references to understandings with France, and they had explicitly informed him that the region west of Damascus was not to be a part of the projected Arab Free State. The failure to specify at the same time the status of Palestine in relation to Arab territory may charitably be explained as due to the vagueness of the Sykes-Picot Agreement in respect to its administration. Their lack of frankness, however, is inexcusable. The contention of Mr Churchill, speaking as a Minister of the Crown in 1922, that Palestine was excluded by implication, since it was a part of the *vilayet* of Syria, is not convincing. The British, at the best, were thinking absurdly that the Arabs would be satisfied with an independent state consisting of Arabia and the steppes and wastes of the Syrian Desert.

The San Remo Conference in 1920 was simply an open ratification of the Sykes-Picot Agreement with such adjustments as were necessary because of the demise of Czarist Russia. Syria and the Lebanon were to be placed under a single mandate to be entrusted to France; Great Britain was to hold two mandates, one for Iraq and another for Palestine. Also, France agreed to transfer the Mosul district with its oil to Great Britain in return for a twenty-five per cent interest in what was then known as the Turkish Petroleum Company and for a free hand in Syria including Damascus, in which Feisal, a friend of Britain, was ruling. A rider was added to the mandate for Palestine, that the mandate would carry with it the obligation on the part of Great Britain to give effect to the Balfour Declaration relative to the establishment of a national home for the Jews there. This rider was doubtless a factor in reconciling France to the relinquishment of her claims to Palestine, as the southern section of Syria.

The proceedings of the San Remo Conference are justly open to criticism on several grounds. The Conference met in April 1920, some three months after the Treaty of Versailles had been ratified (January 10, 1940); the Covenant of the League of Nations, being a part of the Treaty, was then the only legal instrument through which mandates might be assigned and defined. Further Article XXII of the Covenant stipulated that the wishes of the populations concerned were to be taken into account in the selection of the mandatories. In this respect, neither the Resolutions of the General Syrian Congress (July 2, 1919) which pronounced against France in favour of the United States or Great Britain as a tem-

porary mandatory and which expressed a desire that the government of Syria be a constitutional monarchy, that Syria be undivided, and that its right to independence be recognized, nor the Recommendations of the King-Crane Commission with regard to Syria and Iraq (August 28, 1919) were respected. The spirit of the Conference was in the words of Admiral Farragut—"Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead." In the political gamble at the conclusion of the last war the stakes were serious and the stakes were high, and the diplomats involved played the game according to the ancient rules.

As soon as San Remo became an inescapable fact of history, the test of the sincerity of the parties to it was to be the character of the administration of the mandates. At the outset, the functioning of the mandates was complicated by factors that emerged with special force in the post-war period in the Near East. The first was that to which we have already made some reference, the Arab Movement. It had its beginnings about one hundred years ago in Syria with the arrival of Mehmet Ali and his son Ibrahim. The most effective contributors to its rise were the Catholic and Protestant mission schools and, in particular, the American Presbyterian College at Beirût with their ideas and with their printing presses. As it got under way, it developed centres and means of agitation against Turkish oppression. Secret societies were banded into the young Arab movement, which for a very brief period co-operated in an unnatural alliance with the Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress. Egypt gave asylum to the bolder spirits who had to flee Turkish territory. Up to the Great War, however, the Arab Movement was chiefly negative, anti-Turkish. But by one of the ironies of history, the British by dangling before the Arabs the idea of a Free Arab State and by defeating the Turks touched it off almost overnight into a positive force. It took shape first as Pan-Arabism. Later, the Grand Mufti in Jerusalem tried to transform it into Pan-Islamism. This phase of it failed, because Persia and Turkey held aloof and Egypt would not warm to it. Today, both Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism are in their earlier forms dead issues. Since Ibn Sa'ud captured Mecca on October 13, 1924, no one has been proposed as caliph to claim universal Muslim allegiance; and the vital elements of Pan-Arabism have been taken up by Arab nationalism. The steady and impressive progress of Egypt towards national stature, and the independence achieved by Persia and Turkey have been powerful influences in this direction.

This nationalism in the East is a highly eruptive thing. In the first place, it runs counter to Islam, which set itself to supplant national and racial divisions by a theocratic hegemony. In the second place, it implies a concept of the social order which is new and exotic in the East. In short, it signifies the arrival in the East of the ideas which have been agitating the West since the eighteenth century. Its mature fruitage is seen in the new Turkey and the new Iran. It expresses itself in violent opposition to the political control of foreign powers and in the restriction of foreign exploitation. But, along with this, it pays the West the doubtful compliment of adopting its manner of dress, its jazzy amusements, its vices and its salacious literature. More seriously and creditably, it is marked by the rise of the middle classes in participation in the affairs of the state and by the eclipse of the power of the sheikhs, pashas, princes and first families. This is followed by extensive programmes of education and of social betterment. Egypt spends 11 per cent of her national income, that is, 20 million dollars annually, on education (Great Britain, 7 per cent). As an example of the westernizing of the East, we may cite the astonishing fact that more copies of *Maria Chapdelaine* were sold in Egypt than in Quebec; 100,000 as against 6,000 copies. But, in the final analysis, the Near East means to arabicize what it adopts from the West, since it is conscious of its own intrinsic values, which it wishes to preserve.

In the face of such a ferment in the Near East, the mandatories needed an endowment of large supernatural gifts for the peaceful discharge of their commissions. But, unfortunately, they had only human qualities, and those were not always the highest. It is to be remembered also that they were caught in what for them was a vicious circle. The more they applied themselves to their tasks, the more they westernized the people; and the more they westernized the people, the more they reaped criticism and hostility; the more they increased the facilities for radio communication, the more they opened the way for Axis propaganda; the better they made the roads, the easier they made the spread of discontent. In an honest estimate of their performances it must be admitted that they conferred great benefits on the mandated territories. They built excellent highways and railroads; maintained law and order; set up efficient courts of justice and police-systems; improved sanitary conditions and water supplies in towns and cities; raised the health standards by regulations for the control of malaria, typhus, trachoma,

leprosy and other endemic diseases; reformed and graded taxation; undertook, in certain instances, public works for the improvement of economic conditions; established good postal systems; and modernized the currency and the fiscal systems. The best evidence of the success of these policies is seen in the rapid increases in population and income that followed their introduction, according to the statistical reports of the several mandates. On the other hand, they were open to criticism on several counts. They were occupying countries that did not want them. And they had entered these countries by the questionable San Remo Conference, rather than by assignment through the League of Nations. Also, in the administration of the mandates, they were weak in their agricultural and industrial policies, i.e., in the promotion of the economic independence of the mandates at the expense of British and French imports, but vigorous in the exploitation and distribution of oil and in the development of air-ways related to their imperial interests; and neither the British nor the French did full justice to the advancement of education. Egypt and Turkey have each about 1,000,000 students in the public schools,—5 per cent of the population. Syria ought on the same percentage basis to have over 150,000 in the state schools; but in 1934 there were only 75,000. In Palestine in 1922 there were 303 government schools with an attendance of 18,000; in 1932 there were still 303 schools, though the attendance had risen to 25,000, which was still only 2½ per cent of the population.

Politically, the performances of the mandatories were quite unequal, the British far surpassing the French in observing the intention of the provisions in the Covenant of the League governing the exercise of the mandates in Arab countries. George Antonius, an intelligent Arab writer, who has published a trenchant criticism of Western policies in the Near East, in which he plays no favourites, has this to say: "The British contribution to the building up of Iraq is one of the most remarkable instances of post-war construction. Just as hard things may legitimately be said of the British Government's piratical attempt to grab Iraq after the War, so it can without exaggeration be said that the modern state of Iraq owes its existence largely to the efforts and the devotion of its British officials." After a stormy beginning in 1920, marked by a revolt which cost the British Treasury $250,000,000, and after ten years of patient political tutelage, the British crowned their efforts by the model Anglo-Iraqi Treaty (June 30, 1930), by which Iraq was to be

recognized as a sovereign independent state and to be sponsored by Great Britain for admission to the League of Nations; and, in exchange for the use of certain stations for Air Force bases and of the existing means of communication, the British were to give Iraq assistance in the building up of a national army. The Permanent Mandates Commission feared that the British had been too forward in the matter, but on the assurances of Great Britain admitted Iraq to the League in 1932.

In Syria the French made a series of blunders, apparently through the notion that the mandate was a certificate for indefinite occupation. They struck at the unity of the country by dividing it into three separate states*; they tied the currency to the French franc with its instability, and put the management of the currency in the hands of a French bank; they encouraged the use of the French language at the expense of Arabic by the compulsory teaching of French in all state schools and by putting French on a basis of equality with Arabic in the law-courts. For the first seven years the country was under a form of martial rule exercised by three successive generals, Gouraud, Weygand and Sarrail, which terminated in the Druze revolt of nearly two years' duration. Later in 1930-2 the attempt to set up a republic in Syria was followed by another upheaval. The real benefits of French rule were regularly eclipsed by their errors and general lack of *savoir faire*. Finally they were driven to draw up the Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanon treaties on the model of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. But before it could be ratified the war broke out and Syria still waits and wonders in the presence of the troops that now occupy her borders.

The British experiment has been far less happy in Palestine than in Iraq. The difficulties in this instance, as we all recognize, emerge primarily out of the problems created by Jewish immigration. Three major factors have contributed to the unrest which periodically leads to armed violence and revolt in one or another part of the country. The first factor is the Balfour Declaration. Its terms are vague. What is meant by "a National Home for the Jews" or by "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities"? It can be said in defence of Balfour in this respect that he did not anticipate the recent political developments in Europe which caused tens of thousands of Jews to be suddenly compelled to seek

*Shortly before the war they handed over to Turkey the Sanjak of Alexandretta without reference to the League.

entrance to Palestine. The second factor is the presence of inflammatory leaders among both parties to the issue. And the third and most serious factor is the failure of the British Government to give effect to the sound report of the Sir John Simpson Commission of 1930. We cannot turn back the hands of the clock and annul the Balfour Declaration. Britain is committed to it irrevocably. She has time to apply it; for there is no mention in the terms of the mandate for Palestine of its eventual independence. And with firmness an equitable solution is possible.

All these facts which we have been covering make it clear that there is much unfinished business in the Near East, business to which Great Britain is committed and business in which the whole world has a stake. The Near East is the link between three continents; and it stands at the bottle-neck of the world's highways. Points like the Suez Canal and the Dardanelles and the major air-bases and air-routes are of vital concern to every nation. The Near East is the heart of the Muslim faith; what happens in it affects the minds and attitudes of 250 million Muslims. But, in spite of its strategic significance, it is one of the most open and defenceless regions in the world. It has no coal and no iron, the materials from which men forge the instruments of war. Its chief resources are cotton and oil and, in South Anatolia, some chrome—one-sixth of the world's supply. It produces some grain, wool, olive oil and fruit. In none of these products does it lead the world; yet in the possession of an ambitious world-power it could provide enough of an economic margin to give victory. The command of its air-, land-, and water-ways could, as we have recently seen, throttle the free intercourse of the nations. It is not a question, therefore, whether we shall stay in the Near East or get out of it. We are in it irrevocably by history and by geography. The question is how and in what spirit we shall relate ourselves to it.

In the post-war period there are concrete situations already marked out for solution. One of these was outlined by Mr Anthony Eden in his speech on May 29, 1941: "The Arab world has made great strides since the settlement reached at the end of the last war, and many Arab thinkers desire for the Arab peoples a greater degree of unity than they now enjoy.... It seems to me both natural and right that the cultural and economic ties between the Arab countries, and the political ties too, should be strengthened. His Majesty's Government will give their full support to any scheme that com-

mands general approval." In other words, full support is to be given to Arab ambitions to promote a federation of the Arab states. In Palestine, likewise, the solution lies in the direction of the creation of a bi-national or confederated state under the sponsorship of an international guaranty. The eclipse of the Axis powers will change the atmosphere in which the Arabs and the Jews can begin to compose their differences. But, besides helping new states to birth, there is also an obligation to protect the interests of others that have already reached independence and some stability. In 1968 Egypt by agreement takes over the possession of the Suez Canal. By what conventions will she be protected in her rights, and how will she adjust her rights to the interests of other nations? Will her rights be less sacred than those of the Americans in the Panama Canal? Also there is the problem of her mounting population. To feed her millions more areas for irrigation must be made available by more dams, barrages and basins along the Nile. The sources of the Blue Nile lie in Lake Tana in Abyssinia. The control of these sources and territories is of vital importance to Egypt and the Sudan. How, then, shall the integrity of Abyssinia and her borders be guaranteed? If we go beyond the Arab-speaking regions, we meet other concerns of international magnitude. How stable and secure is the infant Republic of Turkey? Since the Persian railroad from Bandar Shapur to the Caspian has been extended first to Tabriz, and now to Russia, will she be absorbed into the Russian congeries of republics at the cost of her national identity?

In the interests of future world-peace these problems must be solved in accordance with the trends of modern public opinion. The old theory of diplomacy is being superseded at length by the Wilsonian idea. The Atlantic Charter contemplates the establishment of an international organization with competent powers to effect an ordered world-society; it bespeaks the termination of predatory imperialism, and the recognition of the rights of peoples, minorities and classes. The application of the principles enunciated in its eight articles to the Near East would introduce an era of peace, prosperity and security, unprecedented for centuries. We must never forget that peace is one.

> There is no separate place where men are free,
> No justice measured by geography;
> If one chain grips a heel, one heart knows fear,
> Peace is betrayed, not only there, but here.

REVIEWS

ON CANADIAN POETRY

I. THE STREAM AND THE MASTERS*

W. E. COLLIN

The Ryerson Press are to be complimented on their beautiful presentation of Dr E. K. Brown's book *On Canadian Poetry*. Dr Brown is one of our most promising scholars. He has had the advantage of the best training in this country and in France. He has already given us critical studies of English and American authors. For the time being he is at Cornell living with Americans but he has always been a student of the literature of his native land. As critic in charge of the annual survey of poetry for the UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY he is fully acquainted with the poetry appearing during recent years in the Dominion.

On Canadian Poetry is the fruit of much study and rigorous intellectual discipline. It is without a doubt the best work that Brown has done. It comprises three chapters: "The Problem of a Canadian Literature," "The Development of Poetry in Canada," and "The Masters," in which he studies the poetry of Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott and Edwin John Pratt. In the first chapter he deals with a subject he has at heart. He expands what he said in *Canadian Literature Today*, 1938, and what he said to the Americans in the Canadian issue of *Poetry*, 1941. It is a brilliant analysis of the economic and social difficulties writers have to contend with in Canada, a complete and exact picture of the colonial spirit, the disguised frontier standards and the puritanism which prevail in our society and which have crushed some of our writers and led others to court an outside public. The second chapter sketches the development of Canadian poetry from Sangster and Heavysege to Anne Marriott and Earle Birney; that is, it covers the whole range of our poetic history. Since it is plainly an historical as well as a critical outline we wonder why author and publisher alike were at pains to inform us that *On Canadian Poetry* "is not an historical enquiry." The mind that planned this book, that wrote the opening paragraphs of the study of Pratt, that

**On Canadian Poetry*, by E. K. BROWN. Toronto, Ryerson, 1943, $2.25.
At the Long Sault and Other New Poems, by ARCHIBALD LAMPMAN. Foreword by DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT and Introduction by E. K. BROWN. Toronto, Ryerson, 1943, $2.00.

adopted the social idea which determines some of the judgments brought down in the book is an historical as well as a critical mind. The first chapter might well be a preface to the sound history of Canadian literature which the author knows we have not got. But Mr Brown's real gift is not his historical sense, nor his scholarly curiosity, but rather his ability to scrutinize his material. He collates and examines texts; he searches into a poet's struggles with words and images; he studies influences, traditions, developments, the progress of a poet's art or attitude. The essay on Lampman is a scholar's work. Sometimes we feel that he is a French type of critic working with an idea of the dominant characteristic of a poet's art; the essay on D. C. Scott is such a critic's work. Often we picture him as a disciple already expert in the use of the intellectual instruments of his masters.

During his critical, research and editorial labours Mr Brown has come under the spell of several master minds, particularly Arnold and Eliot. The shade of his humanism is defined in the terms: "a literature develops in close association with society" and "a great literature is the flowering of a great society." The first chapter of his book is a product of his humanism. The critical instruments he makes most skilful use of in his treatment of "the masters" are those of the perfect and pure critic as T. S. Eliot understands him. Arnold and Eliot taught us to look "solely and steadfastly at the object." Eliot, more austere, reacting solidly against romanticism, against the impressionism which characterized English critical writing a quarter of a century ago, taught us also that a critic "should have no emotions except those immediately provoked by a work of art," that "the end of the enjoyment of poetry is a pure contemplation from which all the accidents of personal emotion are removed." He taught us that the "tools of the critic" are two, namely: "comparison and analysis." But this austerity was too much even for Eliot. His eye was not so steadfast, his contemplation was not so pure that it kept him from asking himself questions about traditions and reputations and kinds of art. Mr Brown recalls his masters by the nature of the questions he sets himself: "What are the peculiar difficulties which have weighed upon the Canadian writer?" "What Canadian poetry remains alive and, in some degree at least, formative?" "How have the masters of our poetry achieved their success and what are the kinds of success they have achieved?" "It remains to

inquire whether Lampman's reputation at home or abroad is in keeping with his deserts." Why have the Canadian public and Canadian critics failed "to do anything like justice to Scott's powers"? He recalls his masters by his use of analysis and comparison; his "pure contemplation" is the secret of his book's great clarity, its strength and courage. It stands therefore as a new sign marking the end of impressionistic and the advent of scientific criticism. Amateur critics and anthologists will feel uncomfortable in the presence of an eye that looks "solely and steadfastly" at our poetry.

Mr Brown's comparisons, those drawn from American sources, are new and welcome. But the original kind of comparison he attempts does not consist in placing one author beside another but rather in placing two poems together in one order of value: "Undoubtedly the poetic beauty of 'The Land of Pallas' . . . is far inferior to the poetic beauty of, let us say, 'Heat' or 'The Frogs'." No critic of Lampman could avoid bringing in Wordsworth and Keats whose poetry sang in his head. Such comparisons are not the novel elements in Mr Brown's essay, which wins our admiration by its close study of the development of Lampman's attitude to nature and social pessimism, following upon a scrupulous examination of texts, published and unpublished, and an inter-comparison of the poems under certain orders of value. His analyses are as expert as his comparisons. The best part of his essay on Scott is constructed with the aid of a dominant quality he has isolated and which he calls "restrained intensity." He works with it till he finds perfection in Scott, those pieces of his art which express a perfect fusion of intensity and restraint: "The Forsaken," "Powassan's Drum." But in "Mission of the Trees"

> Scott wished not only to be intense, but also to establish restraint—he was determined not to overdo his effect. The result was too quiet a note . . . . Scott was here satisfied with a balance that is mechanical, a balance that was achieved by setting two entities side by side and making sure that they had the same weight. For the greatest effects the balance must be organic: the intensity and the restraint must fuse. This they do not often do in Scott's early or intermediate volumes. When they do his poetry is not to be equalled, I think, by any of the Canadian poets of his generation.

Again in Lampman:

> He is undoubtedly the most pictorial of Canadian poets: again and again the nature of the Ottawa Valley is seized with absolute fidelity and with something

superior to fidelity—the painter's insight into the essence of a scene. "Heat" is a perfect instance of this achievement.

In the picture and suggestion of nature—or of the city's charm—lies Lampman's chief formal beauty. Sometimes, as in the lines from "Heat", his manner is bare, sometimes, as in the "Winter Evening", it is luxuriant.

Pratt's dominant traits are his "delight in strength" and his "abounding humour." Another factor that contributes to the intellectual pleasure of Mr Brown's writing is his search for precise definition. After quoting

> Only make me over, April,
> When the sap begins to stir!

he stops to search for the word to define the manner: "The word for that movement and manner is jaunty"; and when he has found the word he handles it till he has exhausted all the literary matter it has in it:

And it is scarcely possible to be poetic and jaunty. The jaunty manner is an impure manner. It will be more evident perhaps that this is so if we pause on another aspect of Carman's jauntiness, his jauntiness in diction. "Neuter" is jaunty, and so is "oaf": these are words that can be used in serious verse . . . only when the intention is bitter. Pope could have used them, or Browning, but in their hands the terms would have had a searing force. Carman uses them playfully, just as he uses his jaunty poetic manner playfully. The worst about them is not merely that they are unpoetic—which is arguable endlessly—but that they are cloying.

And to conclude with a judgment: "This word brings us to the central weakness of Carman. His poetry as a whole is cloying." This breaking-down of literary matter, these studies in artistic development and perfection, achieved with superb skill, are the high-water marks of Mr Brown's contemplative art.

To test the efficacy of the critical method we in our turn need to ask ourselves some questions. What kind of experience does his criticism create for us? What is the truth or value of his judgments? We have already made it sufficiently clear that in the main the experience is literary and intellectual. Occasionally there is a response to the feeling in certain lines of poetry, on a rare occasion we are treated to an anecdote: visiting Scott and listening to the aged poet Mr Brown reflected: "Here, I thought, as Pater presents Marius thinking of Fronto, was 'the one instance' I had seen 'of a perfectly tolerable, perfectly beautiful old age'." It is a pity that Mr Brown's attitude to poetry makes him so chary of personal touches in this style.

It is in his judgments that the critic becomes provocative. "I think that nowhere has he [Lampman] gone beyond the poetic beauty of a poem celebrating Daulac and his companions at the Long Sault, a poem on which he was working a few months before his death . . . . It is a great elegy to be set with Duncan Campbell Scott's 'The Closed Door'." "At the Long Sault" is not a great elegy. "Lycidas," "Adonais," "*Ave atque Vale*" and "Thyrsis" immediately come to our minds when we think of great elegies, and Lampman's poem is not of this order. Mr Brown revises his judgment in his introduction to *At the Long Sault and Other Poems*. It becomes: " 'At the Long Sault' gives a fair picture of the power Lampman had at the end of his career in dealing with human themes." But he insists more strongly on Lampman's dramatic power: "Again and again he shows his power in presenting men and their fate with dramatic intensity and ripe understanding. The comparison of the individual hero with a desperately enduring moose is one instance." Elsewhere we have contested Lampman's power to dramatize man's fate. François Hertel's dramatization of Daulac, "*Soir Ultime*," 1941, though wild in its multitudinous images representing the thoughts of the hero on that fateful night, is a much more satisfying literary experience to the modern mind than Lampman's. Some of Mr Brown's judgments are cogent only to the humanist. "Miss Crawford had given us the one poetic account of real Canadian living in the years following Confederation." "Sangster's life was perfectly representative of the difficulties a poet must face in a pioneer community . . . : he did not have around him that atmosphere of eager sympathy with poetry that is the most precious kind of encouragement, without which all other encouragement is a little artificial and in the end insufficient." We hear an echo of Lampman's complaint in that language. "Roberts, however, does look at Canada as a whole and does say that what he is looking at is of the very first order: and to say that, meaning, as it does, that Canada is no mere colony, no offshoot or tributary, is to take the first big step towards making a Canadian *Leaves of Grass* possible." But if we question the humanist criterion, then the cogency weakens and may fade out altogether. Mr Brown says of Marjorie Pickthall: "When she was faced with the need to sum up civilization, she summed up nature; for her there was nothing else." Is this a true picture of Marjorie Pickthall? Was this her need? Is it true that for her there was nature

and nothing else? We cannot believe it. There is no room here to discuss a theory which views literature as a product of societal environment. But it has long been felt that determinist theories of this sort, the favourite tools of literary historians, are inadequate when we come to grips with literary genius. Some of the author's judgments are typical of the research scholar who is tempted to over-estimate the value of his "discovery." For example, other critics have remarked that Lampman never speaks of love. This is an error born of ignorance: "Two unpublished narratives, 'Arnulph' and 'White Margaret', are packed with love." Yet something kept Mr Brown from including them in the new collection of unpublished material and in the "Introduction" he tells us what it was: they are "poems which we have not judged worthy of inclusion in this collection." The love poems that are included show us Lampman as a Knight sighing for his Lady or as a romantic dreaming of timeless ecstacy. The author takes issue with Cappon, one of our best critics, while appearing really to agree with him: "It is wrong to say of Roberts, as Cappon does, that in him the man outlived the poet . . . . Nevertheless, the study of his later poems is disappointing, for a number of reasons."

These are faults of judgment born of the author's humanism and scholarly zeal. This is not all. Besides a courageous will to look steadfastly at the object there is also timidity. Of Pratt's poem "Dunkirk" Mr Brown merely remarks: "His most recent work, a short epic on Dunkirk, has been more widely read than any other Canadian poem of merit in the past thirty years." This self-effacement is a retreat from criticism, an admission that in presence of the public, the public that refused Scott, any criticism of his is either unnecessary or unsteady. We begin to wonder if the critic's canons and tools are capable of dealing with even the problems he himself raises: the problem of a great literature, of Lampman's personality, of our failure to do anything like justice to Scott—not to speak of a poet's secret. What guarantee have we that analysis and comparison will yield the truth of poetry? Is poetry a matter of literary elements, formal beauty, influences and reputations? Are these not things imposed from without by the contemplating critic? Is poetry merely expression? Is it not rather an inner experience wearing a garment of words? Once or twice Mr Brown speaks of an inner experience and an outer form, only to advise us that the inner experience is an impenetrable secret.

"What the 'plot' of the 'intensely personal drama' was I cannot say; but it is evident that what occurred was more than a crisis of social pessimism, that the deepest and most secret elements of Lampman's nature were involved." If the deepest and most secret elements of Lampman's nature were involved in his poetry it seems reasonably certain that we can understand neither without the other; and to admit we cannot say what the drama is, is to admit partial failure. Mr Brown also speaks of a secret in Pratt: "In 'The Cachalot' there was another Pratt, a very secretive being who has contrived to lead an impenetrable life behind the front of the most expansive of Canadian poets." If there were no relation between a poet's inner experience and his written word, no purpose would be served in speaking of a secret. But this is how the critic leaves us with Pratt: "To the unreflecting he may too often seem just one of the boys; but the reflecting know that only the outer rings of the man are penetrable, and that at the core is a secret life, the life of one who is not lonely only because he is self-sufficient." It is a pity that the book ends on a phrase which is not clear. For, despite certain faulty judgments, certain enthusiasms and reticences, it stands as a critical work of a high order ringing the death-knell of impressionistic criticism and shining by virtue of its subtle contemplative art, its closeknit, contemporary and lucid English.

* * *

We turn briefly to the collection of Lampman's hitherto unpublished poems.

These new poems have been taken from manuscript books and note-books left by Lampman. It was with the manuscript books, deposited in the Library of Parliament, and the note-books, preserved by the poet's daughter Mrs T. R. Loftus MacInnes, that Mr Brown worked in the composition of his introduction to the collection. In the foreword Dr D. C. Scott, to whom we owe the earlier editions of Lampman and most of our information on the poet, describes the collection as "a gathering together, in a liberal spirit, of all that is left of the poet's work." From the same pen we learn of Mr Brown's share of the editing: "During his scrutiny and study of these books, which show early forms of well-known poems and revisions after his manner, he came upon several poems which I had thought too fragmentary ever to be assembled and which I had forgotten when I put together *Lyrics of Earth:* although I can now say that I would not have then attempted any

re-examination of these note-books. It is Professor Brown we must thank for discovering and deciphering many of these poems which add to the sum of the poet's work and in several instances definitely enrich our possessions."

Mr Brown's "Introduction" is substantially the same work as the essay on Lampman which appears in *On Canadian Poetry*. The author has excised a few passages in which mention had been made of certain technical matters, "emotional struggles" and "secret elements" and revised his judgment on the elegy which is given the place of honour in the collection. The name of Lampman's wife is changed from "Emma Playter" to "Maud Playter." The love poems the editors have chosen to publish are printed under the captions "The Growth of Love" and "A Portrait in Six Sonnets." The same picture appearing in two places:

> that great elm that spreads
> Its level fleece and pendent draperies . . .
>
> Yon elm-tree towering at its perfect ease
> With level fleece and pendent draperies . . .

suggests several things, principally that to Lampman it was a perfect picture. He is, as Mr Brown says, our truest pictorial poet. We have fresh evidence of his choice between the city and nature; but the newness we have here is in the realms of fancy and passion, though one also notices a satiric and epigrammatic faculty:

> Where the streets are most astir
> Sits a bright-eyed usurer,
> Like a crinkled spider set
> In the centre of his net . . .
>
> He tilled and seeded and reaped plentifully
> From the black soil of human misery . . . .

F. R. Scott and other advance-guard poets will welcome with surprise this strain in Lampman. Of the love passion we have already said a word; there is also a passion for liberty and justice:

> Brilliant cities tall and wide
> Boast their numbers and their pride
> But the justice comes not, woe
> Harvests still her field . . . .

Lampman died young. He had conceived a bitter hatred of human life in the city as he saw it. He fancied another city, "frost-pure" "under the pole," in which the spirits of men, without will

or desire, enjoy the eternal repose of death. In anger he turned his back on "the fiery haunts of men" and sought peace for his broken spirit in nature which sheltered him and answered his need.

> By others let great epics be compiled,
> Let others' songs in stormier measures flow:
> I sit me in the windy grass and grow
> As wise as age, as joyous as a child.

April is his sweetheart still. We are grateful to the editors for these new poems which help us to reach a juster appreciation of the poet's feelings. None of them, not even the sonnets (from which we cull this image:

> To her forever like storm-stainèd ships
> To the old havens, all my thoughts return—
> Return and lie close moored—to rest a while
> By some stored look or some long-treasured smile)

has the convincing perfection of the best of the old ones. Lampman's power of portraying the peace and beauty and perfection of nature, rather than his power of dramatizing love, wrath, admiration and heroism, will no doubt remain the chief distinction which ensures him an abiding place in the hearts of his countrymen.

II. ANTHOLOGY AND REVALUATION* — RALPH GUSTAFSON

In an assessment of previous compilations of Canadian poetry (in the QUARTERLY for July, 1942) Mr A. J. M. Smith took the occasion to define the ideal anthologist: "He is unprejudiced, impersonal, humble, self-confident, catholic, fastidious, original, traditional, adventurous, sympathetic, and ruthless. He does not exist." Mr Smith has now come forward with a book of poetry of his own collecting, and if, as an anthologist, such a paradoxical accumulation of epithets cannot be applied to him, Mr Smith in many respects fulfils his own definition. He has shown himself scrupulous and catholic, earnest without solemnity, assiduous and impatient. No Canadian is better equipped by temperament and training to present the poetry of Canada with authority and per-

*_The Book of Canadian Poetry: A Critical and Historical Anthology_, edited with an introduction and notes by A. J. M. SMITH. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press [Toronto, W. J. Gage and Co.], 1943, $4.00.

suasion. The publication of his book is a literary event of the first importance. It is a collection to be exported without apology; its appearance domestic makes previous anthologies of like scope and purpose, redundant.

Canadian poetry has stirred little interest outside Canada—for which there are many reasons. Mr Churchill can wind up a peroration on not unimportant urgencies with a quotation from Clough. Mr Roosevelt can meet a great occasion with Longfellow. Mr Mackenzie King could have looked into Cameron and topped the other two poetically. There are economic reasons. American publishers cannot sell their own importunate poets. Periodicals are over-crowded. And yet many anthologies abroad are intended for poets of the English tongue though of different citizenry. How has Canada fared? Mr Mark Van Doren in the American section of his world anthology includes three translations from the Haida Indian. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has a solitary example from Carman. Untermeyer has an example from Carman. In Aldington's recent survey, Canada's entrée is Wilson MacDonald's *Exit*. Or, if the world is too big and books too small for Canada to claim poetic identity, if against the centuries of English poetry Canada's time has been too short, where is the Canadian in W. B. Yeats' *Modern Verse?* Or the "new" anthologies of Michael Roberts, of Selden Rodman, of Oscar Williams? Only Mr A. J. M. Smith himself is in Grigson's *New Verse*. Apart from the exceptional poem which may be taken up from the periodicals, the critic abroad relies mainly on material offered in Canadian collections. Granted that Canadian anthologies do occasionally fall into the hands of the curious and percipient American or English critic, it is apparent that what Canada has wished publicly to offer, non-Canadians would not accept. The combined efforts of Garvin and his Canadian Poets, of Wilfred Campbell and the Oxford University Press, of Roberts and his flying colours, the Canadian Authors' Association and its voices of victory, fail. The inevitable and justified question, of course, is: Has Canada produced good poetry? Mr Smith's book provides the needed and affirmative answer. The failure, then, has been in the field of criticism. Here again, Mr Smith's book makes good previous inadequacies. Is it too much to hope that the critical standard now set will obviate such paragraphs as those on Canadian literature in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica?*

This is a negative approach to the present achievement. But it

points the measure of Mr Smith's devotion to his task. It was not a matter only of starting from the beginning and reading through. The paraphernalia of previous critical extravagances and mistreatments had to be broken down, and the breaking down made evident. Revaluations had carefully to be erected. As the right poets had often been represented for the wrong reasons, it was evident that overlooking the obviously absurd names also could not be risked. Canada has produced, if not maintained, a succession of poets whose published works reach disconcerting proportions. It was a formidable task.

Mr Smith has represented seventy-six Canadian poets with over a quarter of a thousand poems. The touchstone for his choosing was the only one: "After we have made sure that we know what the poet is saying, we must ask: Does the poet mean what he says? Is his poem alive?" He has been successful in the purpose set: "The main purpose of this collection is to illustrate in the light of a contemporary and cosmopolitan literary consciousness the broad development of English-Canadian poetry from its beginnings at the end of the eighteenth century to its renewal of power in the revolutionary world of today." An anthology is best read at random. It is not one of the least values of the present book that the reader knows where the poetry is going, and where he is at any given point. This is achieved by the device of dividing the book into six parts, the poetry being placed in historical and traditional groupings. Continuity between individual authors is further maintained by the prefacing of each with biographical and critical notes. The device is not free of arbitrariness. But it assures perspective. It will prove invaluable to the student.

* * *

Mr Smith's first division is concerned with the anonymous and non-English beginnings of Canada's poetry, given in adaptations by various hands. Such material is so rich and indigenous that it is to be regretted that, in a book of this size, only twelve examples are allowed. Space might well have been stolen from elsewhere for one or two of Edward Sapir's translations of French-Canadian folk-songs—or for the poems of Constance Lindsay Skinner inspired by her experiences among the Indian tribes of British Columbia (to be found in the early issues of Chicago *Poetry*). In fact, space might well have been subtracted from the seventy-three

pages devoted to the pioneer and emigrant verses illustrating "The Rise of a Native Tradition." It is in this Section Two that the book is poetically at its weakest. Mr Smith seems to agree, for in his introduction he finds the verse of Canada's pioneer period "vigorous, or curious, or even merely historically interesting, without being excellent as poetry." Not forgetting Mr Smith's historical purposes, the enthusiastic presentation of Howe, McLachlan, Sangster, McGee, Duvar, and Mair, cannot undo the fact that these early singers are often as tiresome as Mr Smith so rightly finds the subsequent Canadian hymnists of "the Mysteries of Life." The editor, here, cannot make Canadianism synonymous with poetry. The imposition of contemporary expectations upon the poetry of the past is a usage against which the critic must constantly be on guard. But the most alert sympathies cannot for long sustain such efforts as John Hunter Duvar's nineteenth-century emigration of the Fairies, or Charles Mair's damp heroics, *Tecumseh*. Saving Lanigan's lively presence, most of the poets in this group are a humourless lot:

> Like a nude Ethiop 'twixt two houris fair
> (Heavysege, on night);
>
> His tongue was loosed—he warbled too!
> (McGee);
>
> and sorrow at the fate
> Of many a sapless fly quite picked and bare
> (Mair).

One is reminded of another line written about the same time:

> Poor lad, he died at Florence, quite worn out.

But there are great compensations in Tennyson.

Yet one ridicules at the risk of being thought malicious. There is also great compensation among these poets. His name is Charles Heavysege, a poet of power, originality and, at times, majesty:

> There was a devil and his name was I;
> From out Profundus he did cry:
> He changed his note as he changed his coat,
> And his coat was of a varying dye.
> It had many a hue: in hell 'twas blue,
> 'Twas green i' the sea, and white i' the sky.
> O, do not ask me, ask me why
> 'Twas green i' the sea, and white i' the sky;
> Why from Profundus he did cry:

Suffice that he wailed with a chirruping note,
And quaintly cut was his motley coat.—

I have forgot the rest. Would I could sleep;
Would I could sleep away an age or so,
And let Saul work out his own weal or woe:
All that I ask is to be let alone.

O, to be let alone! to be let alone!
To laugh if I list; if I list to groan;
Despairing, yet knowing God's anger o'erblown.
O, why should God trouble me?

There is nothing comparable in the range of Canadian literature to Heavysege's creation, in *Saul*, of the character, Malzah:

Ah, weary! I am called the laughing devil.
Yet I walk up and down existence weeping.

That Heavysege could have been lost sight of, is cause for conclusions of substantial significance.

It is with the names of the poets in Section Three that the general reader will be most familiar—Charles G. D. Roberts, Lampman, Campbell, Carman, Duncan Campbell Scott, Pauline Johnson: "The Golden Age." Within these poets Canada first found national identity—and in the exuberance of the discovery a creative dislocation and critical extravagance that is only just now being set right. Among them, these national figures possess originality, craft, sensitivity, music and power. But each of these disciples of Keats, Shelley, Tennyson and Swinburne fastened upon Canada a poetic apparatus that is still being kept wound though it long ago refused to tell the time.

Mr Smith has added his emphasis to the proper allocation of these poets of the eighteen-sixties. Emphasis, for instance, on the early poems of the Acadian countryside of Sir Charles Roberts rather than on Roberts' poems concerning "cosmic consciousness"; refusal to be mesmerized by the musical but facile abstractions of Carman. Certainly Wilfred Campbell is done ample credit with four poems. But it is time to have done with Pauline Johnson; and from the current undervaluation of Isabella Valancy Crawford, Mr Smith has stepped into over-estimation. We are given two hundred and seventy-five lines from her *Malcolm's Katie*. They illustrate the vigour, intellectual incisiveness and nationalism which distinguish Crawford's work. But the other one thousand and seventy-two lines of the poem behind Mr Smith's lacunae must

also weigh in the estimation. It would be interesting to know the authority for the word *thought* in Mr Smith's version of the lines:

> O King of Desolation, art thou dead?
> Thought Max, and laughing, heart and lips, leap'd on
> The vast, prone trunk.

In the edition of 1905 the word is *cried*. The question is not entirely pedantic. For therein turns the literary artifice which cannot, however melodramatic, equate *life*. That other Katie of Tennyson's was published twenty-nine years before.

Cameron is another poet of Canada who is under-estimated. His intensity is misjudged as neurotic; his passion is termed rhetorical. This is true of the majority of his "love poems"—and of other areas. But what a dozen times Cameron has done well, he has done superbly well. He has not been surpassed.

> I will do this and that, and break
> The backbone of their large conceit,
> And loose the sandals from their feet,
> And show 'tis holy ground they shake.

It is unfortunate that *The Way of the World* should have displaced one or two of Cameron's Cuba poems. Lampman, who did "not care a hang for anything but poetry," and Duncan Campbell Scott, are penetratingly represented. From the pre-eminence of Lampman and Scott to that of E. J. Pratt, via Mr Smith's "Varieties of Romantic Sensibility," is a pleasant enough passage. Uneventful, perhaps. But one cannot make the passage without being tripped up by the personality of Tom MacInnes. It has been a long wait for *Zalinka* to get anthologized. Isabel Ecclestone Mackay's *First Love* is missed. And one of F. O. Call's sonnets might well have replaced two or three samples of the "sensibilities."

With Pratt, one comes to the Great Divide. From here on, is the New World. This is the region into which Canadian readers have been reluctant to come. It is the region in which that association of writers and critics still surveying the slopes of another tradition cannot subsist. It could not happen otherwise. There is too much vitality, excitement and knowledge to compete with. Poets are catalysts quickening the nation they live in, transmuting the familiar with the unperceived, the parish with the world. It is a slow process. It has been a particularly slow process with Canada. But Canada is becoming aware of the breadth and originality and human common denominator which Pratt's poetry

has given her. Of the definition of her northness in Ross. Of Ontario in Knister. Of her adventurousness and sensibility in Birney. The intellectual stypticity and passion of A. J. M. Smith. By the latter's book, this process will be accelerated. In these latter poets, Canada has liberation.

One word more. Canada's "modern" poets did not wait for the Statute of Westminster, to be liberated. Much nonsense has been written, and is being written, about the drag of "colonialism" on Canadian literature; about the danger of Canadian literature, which is the spirit of the nation, being smothered between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America. The last and best sections of Mr Smith's book are sufficient rebuttal. They were largely written when the world was in danger of being lost.

ROMAN DRAMA*

GILBERT NORWOOD

Classical studies have long been facing unprosperous days; and the heavy blows dealt of late years at all noble and ancient splendours have not spared the Graeco-Roman bases of our civilization and culture. But ever since this unpopularity began, and more vigorously still during the present onslaught, teachers of Greek and Latin have offered an unremitting defence. Among other devices, there has been a notable increase in translations of the ancient literature. Till recently little more than a department *belles lettres*, these are now produced and recommended as a substantial element in school and university work, fulfilling two purposes. Some teachers use them as part of Greek or Latin courses, substituted for the originals. Others prescribe them for students of English literature who, having little knowledge or none of the ancient languages, need these works for comparative study. The soundness of the former plan is still debated. But that the latter is excellent cannot be gainsaid, if certain obvious conditions are fulfilled. First, translations of poetry must be employed with the utmost wariness. Second, such versions must show good scholarship, literary skill and a firm refusal to "popularize." If

**The Complete Roman Drama: All the Extant Comedies of Plautus and Terence, and the Tragedies of Seneca, in a Variety of Translations*, edited, and with an introduction, by GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH. (2 vols.) New York, Random House [Toronto, Macmillan], 1942, $8.00.

ancient literature is to "compete" with modern by a piteous attempt at contemporary manner, defeat is both inevitable and deserved.

Nearly all products of the new policy meet the second condition; and in this respect Professor Duckworth's volumes deserve emphatic praise. The first condition does not really apply to them, for little of Seneca, practically nothing in Plautus or Terence, is poetry in any sense but the technical. The comedies are capable of being scanned, usually with a struggle; but only one line in fifty sounds like verse. It is strange that—except in the very late *Querolus*—no ancient dramatist, despite the example of mime-writers such as Sophron, ever saw that the increasing realism of both treatment and vocabulary, together with a growing laxity of versification, pointed to the use of prose.

Few Latin authors, if any, could have been chosen who are so attractive as these three to students of comparative literature; for, whatever their excellence as playwrights, they are vastly important in the history of letters. Seneca has exercised a prodigious influence. Shakespeare composed an admirable essay in the Senecan manner when he put into the player's mouth that splendid piece of bombast about Fortune and the mobled queen. In the same play he mentions Seneca and Plautus by name—the only dramatists whom he thus honours. His *Comedy of Errors* closely follows Plautus' *Menaechmi;* indeed, the stage of Italy, France and England owes much to both Plautus and Terence. The former's *Amphitruo* has engendered the most numerous progeny: M. Giraudoux names his own version *Amphitryon 38*, and I cannot dispute his arithmetic. Dryden wrote one of the thirty-eight. Molière's splendid work has given two words to the French language: his line, "le véritable Amphitryon est l'Amphitryon où l'on dîne," has made the name a playful word for "host"; and his character Sosie has produced the word for a man's "double."

The volumes before us are a thoroughly workmanlike publication, handsomely produced, founded on solid scholarship, excellent in the accuracy and manner of translation. The huge task has been faithfully performed: wherever I tested them, the versions proved exact and readable. Of the thirty-seven plays, fourteen have been done entirely into verse; and Seneca's lyrics, in particular, are admirably turned. What a comfort, too, that everything is here! Nothing so irritates your genuine student as

Extracts, Selected Beauties and the Best Plays of So-and-So: he wants it all, even if he will never read it all. Professor Duckworth agrees, remorselessly dragging into the sunlight, as Hercules dragged Cerberus, even such ghastly stuff as the *Persa*—and rightly; for the study of literature is not quite identical with enjoyment thereof. His bounty includes even *Querolus*, for which he deserves still warmer thanks, since it is far less well known and accessible. This queer composition belongs to an immensely later period than all other extant Latin comedies, having been written perhaps in the fifth century after Christ. It interests us by its elaborate moralizing, its rhythmical prose, and a few clever strokes of wit. Professor Duckworth's translation is a valuable service, for the knotty and affected Latin will distress many who find Plautus not too exacting.

The General Introduction provides a learned, clear and brief history of Roman drama, together with some remarks on its influence, and a useful statement of the conditions under which the plays were performed. But it practically omits something so vastly more important for the book's purpose that I must discuss it at a length which will, in the opinion of traditionalists, throw this review out of focus.

Such publications are not—or should not be—intended for classical students, whose work is based on the *ipsissima verba* of the Greek and Latin authors, and for whom, therefore, the most that can be done by translations is done by the Loeb series (for example), where the original is printed face-to-face with the English. A version which at no point demands of its reader any knowledge or use of the original can be justified only as a help to students who confine their attention to subject-matter in the strictest sense. That, no doubt, is obvious, but the proper conclusion is not always drawn. Failure to draw it has rendered the present work much less useful than it could have been made. Certain ancient writings are presented as part of the world's dramatic literature to people concerned very little with the lost antecedents of extant Latin tragedies and comedies, but keenly interested in plays as plays, in the development of technique, the influence of particular authors, and (above all) the excellence of a given play and the pleasure to be obtained from it. A good introduction should therefore contain, as its chief and most necessary feature, a full, painstaking and candid reply to such questions as:

"How does *The Comedy of Errors* react to *Menaechmi?*" "Is *Phormio* a good play?" "How has Seneca influenced French tragedy?" "What is wrong with the plot of the *Poenulus?*" In short, we must be far less ready to peer at the ghosts of vanished rudiments than to consider Terence and the others just as we consider Marlowe or Schnitzler.

Now, Professor Duckworth's General Introduction and short prefaces to the several plays do contain remarks on the kind of question just exemplified. But they show three weaknesses. First, there is not enough. Second, we find too often mere quotation of earlier critics without decision between them. Third, the comment is mostly traditional matter, familiar to the nineteenth century before Ibsen inaugurated a momentous renaissance of the drama. In that epoch ancient plays were usually edited by scholars who knew (so far as appeared) nothing whatever about dramatic art—except of course Shakespeare, whom they dragged into the final paragraph of the Introduction by way of imparting majesty. Only thus can one explain the astounding judgments offered on Plautus and Terence by such accomplished Latinists as Sellar and Mackail. Sellar placed the *Captivi* "among the very best plays of Plautus," and that though its plot is the most frantically absurd of the twenty; Mackail brackets the *Mercator*, by far the finest Plautine drama, with *Stichus*, probably the worst play, by any dramatist of permanent note, in the whole history of the stage. One could fill pages with such horrors: it need only be added that Wagner in his edition of Terence claims to have given "all that is most necessary for the complete understanding of a Terentian play," and yet makes throughout the volume no reference whatever to plot-construction except a single (mistaken) comment on *Phormio*.

This book, as I said, betrays the nineteenth-century point of view; and even where it reveals a sense of later critical development it is normally tentative, even timid. Consider what we read about the *Captivi*. Lessing's *dictum* is quoted: "the finest piece ever put on the stage." How is this breath-bereaving judgment treated? There are only two sound methods. One is, to ignore it. The other is frankness: "Though this comment makes perhaps the most complete reversal of fact ever performed in dramatic criticism, we need not try to explain how the writer of the illustrious *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* came to make it: Lessing wrote this when but twenty years old, long before he became competent to offer general-

izations, right or wrong, about European drama." Professor Duckworth adopts neither course. "More modern scholars admire the play for its unusual features, but do not accord it such high praise." What has modernity to do with the matter? And before we consent to admire a play for unusual features, would it not be well to determine whether they are unusually good or unusually bad? True, he offers a statement of the play's faults, but he omits the worst. Repeatedly in his special introductions the same lack of firmness appears. Moreover, we again meet with that popular but fantastic defence of Plautus, the assumption that to explain his shortcomings is to disprove them. *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner* may be true of social intercourse: as a maxim of criticism it is so obviously inept that nothing save a total lack of reasonable defensive weapons could have suggested resort to it. To excuse essential contradictions in the plot of a Plautine comedy by surmising—or indeed proving—that the "author" has combined lumps of two different Greek plays which refuse to fit, is a procedure followed by I know not how many scholars, and condoned by the present editor.

Anyone who proposes serious appraisal of Plautus and Terence ought to discuss the opinions of Quintilian and Horace. The former gives the weight of his prestige as the leading Roman critic to the view that comedy is the weakest spot in Latin literature—*in comoedia maxime claudicamus*. Horace writes with something less than his usual urbanity. "See how slipshod is Plautus as he hurries across the boards—he is eager to drop the cash into his purse, and then cares nothing whether his play falls down or stands upright." "Your ancestors praised the rhythm and the wit of Plautus, admiring both too tolerantly, not to say foolishly."

But the book's chief weakness, which it shares with the immense majority of American and English writings on this subject, lies in its failure to distinguish clearly and vigorously between the different types of comedy. No one dreams of discussing novels or painting in this wild fashion. Who blames Corot for his unlikeness to Rembrandt, or Greuze for missing the Turner effect? Is Jane Austen snubbed because she is no Smollett? The man who rejoices in *Barchester Towers* but turns up his nose at Terence's *Hecyra* is not a critic but an irresponsible book-fancier.

This refusal or inability to distinguish the different types of comedy helps to account for the strange depreciation of Terence

and the equally strange glorification of Plautus which are still widely current. It is itself best explained by the history of modern culture. Why have so few people in the United States, Canada and England a clear notion of dramatic art? Because, on the one hand, our overwhelmingly greatest writer is a dramatist; and, on the other—to ignore our contemporaries, as not yet fully effective in this regard—we have no other great dramatist. As a result, the vast majority derive their ideas of comedy from Shakespeare, and from him alone. His best comedies are beyond praise, granted. But they do not exhaust the comic *genre*, being either romantic plays or farces: he has no comedy of manners. Therefore, when we are confronted with a foreign genius who does, in fact, devote himself to social comedy, we know not what to say. Molière, to be sure, we eulogize, because the French adore him; but the genuineness of our appreciation is brought into doubt by our indifference to other excellent dramatists of the same school: to most of us Marivaux is not even a name. We need scarcely wonder, then, if Menander, second only to Molière, wins such dubious esteem—that genius of whom Plutarch, at the close of an elaborate and all-embracing panegyric, exclaims: "What sound reason for entering a theatre does the cultivated man ever find, except Menander?" Terence, inferior to him, indeed, yet superior to Marivaux, naturally puzzles or offends us, as he puzzled and offended the Roman audiences who deserted him for tightrope-walkers.

The morbid glee wherewith nineteenth-century dons hailed Plautus can be explained on the same lines. Hunting for something or other which they could dub Shakespearean, they culled out a scene here and there which is in truth very like the Speed and Launce rubbish in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and gaily crowned the author of *Stichus* with the laurels borne by him who wrote *Twelfth Night*. Ballio in *Pseudolus*, who really is rather good, they salute as the prototype (blessed word!) of Falstaff himself. But this tirade should not end without an acknowledgment that Professor Duckworth shows himself not unconscious that our traditional judgments on both Plautus and Terence should be revised. If only he had given his suspicion full rein! Often he mentions certain merits of Terence and points, albeit far too mildly, to Plautine absurdities. But, alas, in the General Introduction he misses his best opportunity. "To say . . . that the work of Terence is high comedy, that of Plautus mostly farce, is mis-

leading. Both worked from the social drama of the [Greek] New Comedy, Terence in the direction of subtlety and elegance, Plautus towards bustling vivacity and boisterous humour." He has but re-stated the "misleading" remark at greater length. And why? Because—if one may venture to attribute motives—the reminder that both men start from the same point suggests that Plautus therefore cannot be markedly inferior to Terence; though some readers may reflect that those who travel east and west from the same spot will arrive at very diverse destinations.

Seneca has been waiting too long. As for him, I need only add to my praise of these translations that Professor Duckworth's prefatory account strikes me as masterly. I do not, indeed, admire Seneca so ardently as he, though the lyrics are always skilful, often both trenchant and charming. But he sets forth an impressive case for his own high estimate. Particularly notable is the remark that "superhuman forces may be at work, but the Senecan characters, perhaps even more than those of Greek tragedy, have freedom of will and are responsible for their own deeds." The account of Seneca's influence has much value—exactly what is needed to enlighten and stimulate those students of drama whom we both have in mind.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE NATURE OF MAN* — R. S. KNOX

This book, an expanded revision of the Lowell lectures for 1942, is, apart from its other merits, a masterpiece of neat planning. Professor Spencer sets out with a threefold aim: "It is Shakespeare's vision of life we are after, its dependence on contemporary thought, its development through dramatic form, and its universal truth." Each part is linked into a chain of skilful and challenging argument. The historical study forms the basis of the dramatic criticism, and this in turn leads to a statement of the writer's creed of the worthy life from which alone can issue great literature.

In the opening chapters he expounds with admirable concision and clarity the heritage of thought about man's nature and his place in the scheme of things which came from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century. On the one hand there was the optimistic theory which postulated the ordered and unified structure of the

**Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, by THEODORE SPENCER. New York, Macmillan Co. [Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada], 1942, $2.75.

world, of living beings, and of society, with man in the exalted position as the "nexus et naturae vinculum." On the other hand there was the conception of man flawed by his own original sin, "a proud and yet a wretched thing." But by Shakespeare's time a deeper cleavage had opened. The universal scheme itself was being assailed on each of its inter-related levels. Copernicus had questioned the cosmological order, Montaigne had raised doubts as to man's central place in the natural order, and the political order had been denied by Machiavelli's doctrine of the morally isolated state. Here was the quickened Renaissance conflict. The new doubts reinforced the traditional opposition between the ideal and the realistic pictures of man. "The contrast between the theoretical good and the evil fact goes very deep into the thought and feeling of the age, and it was expressed by Shakespeare among others with great force and grandeur." Moreover in the theatre the perfect medium for such an expression had been shaped. "Nothing could have been more propitious for the writing of great tragic drama. In the periods when great tragedy has been written, two things seem to have been necessary: first, a conventional pattern of belief and behaviour, and second, an acute consciousness of how that conventional pattern can be violated . . . . It was because Shakespeare, as he developed his art, was able to see individual experience in relation to the all-inclusive conflict produced by this violation, that his great tragedies have such wide reverberations and give us so profound a picture of the nature of man."

In the main chapters Professor Spencer proceeds to show how Shakespeare "made use of the great chance his age offered him." He examines the early plays. In the trilogy of the last two parts of *Henry VI* and *Richard III* he finds, in fairly orthodox fashion, that the informing thought is of the disaster which follows when order is violated in the state. Shakespeare was writing no political document, but "he inevitably used the political views which his age gave him and he inevitably saw the various conflicts between individuals against a wider pattern of generalization." *Romeo and Juliet* is shown to exemplify Shakespeare's acceptance of the traditional view of the relation between man and the heavens. Too much perhaps is made of the difference between Brooke's use of "that musty abstraction," Fortune, and Shakespeare's change to the stars as "agents of human destiny that his audience could believe in"; and it is implied, surely mistakenly, that the choric

comment of the Friar, in telling Romeo "what is wrong with his passions," helps us to see how Shakespeare thought of their tragedy. But naturally Professor Spencer's chief concern is with the mature plays, and, from his special point of view, the exposition is most adroit. Shakespeare, he claims, puts his awareness of the clash between the ideal man and man as he is, "full of darkness and chaos," into the character of Hamlet, so that Hamlet's disillusionment becomes an expression of the Renaissance predicament. The interdependence of the three spheres, the world, the state and man, and the belief that the disruption of one entails the disruption of the others, are basic to the play-theme. In the chaotic world of *King Lear* we witness even more startlingly this triple bond. In *Macbeth* "the confusion in the political world is not merely reflected in the world of Nature and the individual; it is—such is the power of the poetic imagination—*identified* with these worlds." This expression of Shakespeare's vision in terms of contemporary thought is variously revealed; and Professor Spencer rightly admits that after all it can be only a partial expression, for Shakespeare's view of human life "transcends anything given him by his time."

Indeed, despite all the deftly collected evidence, that last is the thought which stays with us. One might even go further and say that the framework of contemporary ideas may be overstressed so as to warp the import of the play. As one instance of this we might cite the reiteration throughout the book that Shakespeare's tragic vision is of an order violated and restored by the destruction of the violating force. That may be true of the trilogy on the Wars of the Roses, but only in a superficial sense could it be applied to *Hamlet* or to *King Lear*. Again it seems to be a wrong emphasis which finds as a central thought in the play Hamlet's change from being "passion's slave" to a man who "sees himself as a part of the order of things," and which claims as an essential in the Shakespearean tragic pattern a final reconciliation "between man and the ruler of the universe." We may wish it to be so, but Shakespeare offers no such assurance. He ventures no answer to the riddle of things. He holds us with a tale of suffering and the valiancy of man's enduring spirit. It is on the human note that his story closes.

Like so many recent critics Professor Spencer revives the older romantic view that Shakespeare's drama can and must be seen as a developing expression of the dramatist's life philosophy, and that the last plays give his final testimony. Whereas in the tragedies he

had revealed the evil reality under the good appearance, in these last plays, it is held, the process is reversed; the appearance is evil but the reality is good. "There is a re-birth, a return to life, a heightened, almost symbolic, awareness of the beauty of normal humanity after it has been purged of evil." Whether or not we accept any such mystical generalization, there is no doubt about the kinship in theme and sentiment in the Romances—the contrast between the generations, the stress on reconciliation and on the hope which lies in the innocence of the young. In his eagerness to clinch his thesis, however, Professor Spencer seems here and there to force the evidence. "It is," he says, "on a regenerated humanity that Miranda looks when she exclaims:

> How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world
> That has such people in't."

But the new beauteous people she sees, apart from the two old men and the minors, are the rascals, Antonio and Sebastian, who, though pardoned, have given little sign of their regeneration. It is likewise an insignificant fancy which sees in the stages of Shakespeare's career—"a period of experiment, of tragic vision, and of affirmation"—a symbolism of all men's lives, the eternal rhythm of birth, life and death, and what is beyond death.

In the final chapter Professor Spencer rounds his argument by ranging Shakespeare's work against human experience as a whole and more particularly against our experience today. Great literature, he repeats, can issue only from an age like Shakespeare's, when the writer is able to use all three of man's relationships, to society, to himself, and to the larger forces by which he feels himself controlled. When one is over-weighted to the neglect of the others, as in the individualism of romantic art, decay is inevitable. In this respect, we are warned, our present age is in a bad way, although not without hope. We vainly seek in our worship of the state "compensation for the impersonality of our universe and the impotence of our wills." From such a condition no worthy literature can come. Happily there are signs of our attaining a new order; and, if we can find some sanction which will be for us what the Christian faith was to the sixteenth century, we may again be creatively healthy. In Professor Spencer's suspicion of mere human efforts to remedy our plight and in his belief that we must wait for Heaven's blessed dew to fall on us, there is much of *The Waste Land* view of our modern predicament.

It seems rather a strained moral to draw from a study of Shakespeare and the nature of man.

Even if this thesis may on sundry points be challenged, there is no question about the interest and the importance of the book. In recent years the scholarly cry has been for the Elizabethan Shakespeare, for a study of the thought which conditioned his drama. Here is the best answer yet given; and Professor Spencer knows, as some of the historians do not, the limitations of his approach: "Shakespeare's greatness consists—and no historian of ideas should forget it for a moment—in his ability to create characters in which we can believe, and it is only in so far as we are helped toward an understanding of how he does this, that a study of the conventions of his time is really helpful." That may be rather a narrow view of the greatness of Shakespeare's drama, but it gives a salutary reminder of the relation between historical research and art criticism.

MARK TWAIN: MAN AND LEGEND* J. R. MacGillivray

Every biographer of Mark Twain must on his setting forth consider two questions: how long will the book be, and where will the emphasis fall? These are the most elementary and common problems of design, but not easy to solve in this case. The sheer amount of material to be assimilated is almost appalling. There are the collected works in twenty-one volumes, the *Autobiography*, *Letters*, *Speeches*, *Notebooks*, and innumerable miscellaneous writings only partly garnered together from magazines and newspapers in America and Great Britain. There must also be digested the three-volume official biography by his literary executor, A. B. Paine, intimate memoirs as by W. D. Howells and Clara Clemens, and then one must face up to the records and studies of the Missouri frontier, the Mississippi riverway, the Nevada mining camps, the Far West, and the wider Victorian world for which Mark Twain wrote. Nor is the question of what to emphasize less perplexing. Samuel Clemens was at one time or another a printer, river-pilot, army recruit, reporter, mining prospector, newspaper editor, active partner in a publishing house, unofficial American ambassador to the world at large, famous platform lecturer, and for almost fifty

**Mark Twain: Man and Legend*, by De Lancey Ferguson. Indianapolis and New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1943, $3.00.

years, to use his own phrase, "a literary person" who wrote books. But his infinite variety was not merely occupational. He was a wild man from the frontier who settled in Hartford and contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*, a person of slight formal education and imperfect literary taste who wrote at least one unassailable American classic, an unashamed Philistine who satirized the tawdry vulgarity of the Gilded Age, a humorist who experienced moods of the blackest depression, a popular and beloved hero who had the lowest opinion of "the damned human race," and, since his death and thanks to the labours of amateur psychologists, he has become an increasingly baffling enigma. He has also attained to the shining company of Washington, Lincoln, Paul Revere and Paul Bunyan as a great American myth.

Professor Ferguson has considered the two preliminary problems of the biographer, settled on a general design, and written a fine book accordingly. *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* is a biography of moderate length, less than half the size of Mr A. B. Paine's, yet drawing on sources beyond his knowledge and evaluating a body of writing and a cultural environment beyond his untrained skill to comprehend. The main emphasis falls on the man of letters. This is a principal justification for the book. The wonderful life-story is related at length; there is a sufficient account of the American background; but both these elements are intended finally to give us a more intelligent understanding of the published writings. This is a book both popular and sound. The common reader will find information and amusement; the student of American literature who takes even his Mark Twain seriously will find a judicious account of a man and his books.

Indeed, the most notable general feature of *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* is the fine sense of proportion displayed. This is shown, not only in the satisfactory mediation between popular and scholarly claims, and in the careful distribution of emphasis, but also in the scrupulous avoidance of gratuitous theory and dark psychological speculations. There is not much on the "problem" of Mark Twain, still less on the supposed "ordeal" of the frustrated satirist, tamed and cribbed by his wife and W. D. Howells, lest he say what he really thought and shock Victorian sensibilities. Professor Ferguson's examination of the manuscript changes in *Huckleberry Finn* should put an end to that misconception, just as his quotation in their context of some of Mark's loudest complaints about

domestic censorship should make it clear that his jokes have not always been recognized by his more solemn critics. He liked Howells and was gratified to receive his opinions. As he told him after reading his review of *The Innocents Abroad* in the *Atlantic*, "I felt like the woman who was so glad her baby had come white." The criticism by Mrs Clemens, and later by the children, was as naturally invited and received. They were his local public, an extraordinarily sensible, good-natured and intelligent court of first reference. It was Mark's own idea, and an excellent one, to try everything out on them. There is not the least sign that he rebelled, or had any reason to. Even Livy's half-hearted attempts to change his personal habits were treated as a joke by both parties. Her campaign to have him cut down on his daily ration of cigars came to absolutely nothing though he was entirely willing to oblige, "not that I believed there was the faintest *reason* in the matter, but just as I would deprive myself of sugar in my coffee if she wished, or quit wearing socks if she thought them immoral." Perhaps this proves that his once manly spirit was broken by domestic regimentation, just as Livy's single comment "scandalous" opposite the reference to the King's lack of costume in the Royal Nonesuch interlude makes it clear that he could not call his literary conscience his own.

In conclusion, it should be said that this book displays one defect of its virtues. It is not quite as funny as the smirking reader anticipates. There is no attempt made to hide the fact that for the last fifteen years of his life Mark Twain was often wretchedly lonely and depressed, berating man's dual misery of living and dying. Nor is there much space in a book of this kind for quotation from the author's best pages. It is assumed that we all know at least *Huck Finn* and *The Innocents*. As for the numerous lesser writings, the speeches, and casual quips upon which his immense general popularity depended, they begin to seem a little remote and strange, like the pre-1914 world to which they were addressed. It is not merely that the vivid presence, the cultivated drawl, the careful timing of the words are lost on the printed page; the substance of much of the humour is dated. To take a minor illustration: his last public speech in which he advised the young ladies of a school in Baltimore "not to smoke—to excess; not to drink—to excess; not to marry—to excess," is still funny but not exactly in the way intended in 1909. Perhaps (to continue and end in this

morbid vein) even his immense reputation for eloquent, varied and sustained swearing is to be measured by mere Victorian standards, or is to be suspected as another myth. If it was so wonderful why did they not write it down at least once? Even the indefatigable Paine sidles off mumbling, "I do not recall his exact words during the performance; I was chiefly concerned in getting out of the way, and those sublime utterances were lost." A sorry confession this, from an official biographer.

GOD AND MAMMON* — ARTHUR BARKER

A line frequently taken by critics of the British Empire is that it was founded in hypocrisy and developed in cupidity by men who made vague religious and humanitarian gestures with the left hand while they sedulously filled their money-bags with the right. There is some truth in this; but it is not the whole truth. It has been made to seem almost the whole truth because the unlimited commercialism of the nineteenth century has come to represent for so many the chief danger to Western civilization, and because so much brilliant scholarship has consequently been devoted to tracing the rise of its ethic from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritanism. The tendency has been to argue that from the very beginning the white man's burden consisted of nothing but the spoils he was carrying away. Even of the nineteenth century this is not the whole truth. Of the sixteenth and seventeenth it is considerably less than a half truth. In the past few years a number of scholars (especially in America) have been re-examining the English Renaissance and English Puritanism; it is significant that many of these—Haller, Sabine, Jordan, Knappen, Bush, to mention but a few—have been led to insist on the point repeatedly introduced by Mr Wright in the latest of his contributions to Elizabethan and Jacobean history. It is that we totally misunderstood the period if, assuming that its religion was insincere and inoperative, we read back into it the hypocrisy and sceptical materialism which have been too generally typical of our own time.

The historical truth is that the Empire could not have been founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (nor preserved

**Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625*, by LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1943, $2.00.

in the twentieth) without the profound idealism of which religion is the vital source. This is clear from Mr Wright's study of the influence of the clergy upon early expansion and colonization. Not that his lectures (delivered on the Walker-Ames Foundation at the University of Washington) are imperialistic propaganda. On the contrary, the subject is treated with none of the rancour which so often accompanies it but with the sober and exact scholarship one associates with the Huntington Library. Mr Wright has no illusions about the co-operation between the clergy and the merchants in which "the modern cynic is likely to see something cold-bloodedly iniquitous." He does not under-estimate the desire for gain, nor "the Anglo-Saxon genius for discovering high moral reasons to justify doubtful deeds." But his rigorously historical examination of sermons, chaplains' letters, company reports, and accounts of voyages (like those of the clergymen Hakluyt and Purchas), leads to the conclusion that, "smile as we may at the materialistic application the Puritans made of religion, . . . that was only part of the story."

The lectures are not, of course, much concerned with the adventures of piratical seamen or the trials of colonists. Those stories have often been rousingly told, and the reader may be somewhat disappointed to find so little of their colour here. What interests Mr Wright is the creation of a public sentiment for expansion through the preaching and writing of the clergy, both Puritan and Anglican—a less exciting story which has, as he says, been very nearly overlooked. There was perhaps more excitement and enthusiasm in this clerical propaganda than Mr Wright's treatment and style would seem to suggest, but he makes abundantly clear its general character and its wide influence.

Inevitably the motives of the clergy were very mixed. Many had a financial interest in the companies. Fear of Spain and of popery caused others to preach a Protestant commercial crusade. Because the Puritan ethic lent itself to the cultivation of the prudential virtues, chaplains were valuable officers of business morale as well as of public relations. But along with such motives went a vigorous belief—not only among the clergy but in many of the proprietors and some of the adventurers—that colonial and mercantile expansion would provide remedies for spiritual, moral and economic evils. The most alert social thinkers of the time were clergymen who preached colonization as the corrective for the

poverty resulting from a sudden increase in population and a cycle of depressions. Others thought that colonization would reinvigorate a nation tending to moral laxity. The programme of carrying salvation and civilization to the heathen—absurd as it may seem to moderns who believe that Christianity has nothing of value to offer and that civilization is a snare and a delusion to the noble savage—was too prominently written into projects and reports, too vigorously preached, and too consistently implemented, to have been merely a pious selling-point.

It was from convictions of this kind that there arose the sense that English expansion was part of the divine plan. It was this sense which enabled the adventurers to face the dangers of unchartered seas and the colonists to sustain the rigours of settlement. The desire for safe profits produces no such courage. It is a sense of which, at the moment, we cannot afford to be contemptuous; and Mr Wright does well to conclude his lectures by drawing our attention to it. What he perceives is that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century clergymen who preached expansion seem to us bigoted or hypocritical not so much because they were so as because we have been incapable of comprehending their idealism. If one may judge from the work of scholars like Mr Wright, we are beginning to see the matter more clearly. And perhaps those historians and literary critics who continue the attack on Puritan bigotry and its remaining vestiges are still mistakenly living in Arnold's nineteenth century, unaware that his world *is* dead and that in the revival of idealism a new world is already (as in the sixteenth century) being powerfully born.

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